

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY Illustrated REVIEW OF REVIEWS

Edited by ALBERT SHAW

William McKinley:

1. The Visit to Buffalo, the Tragedy, and the Nation's Mourning. *By Walter Wellman. Profusely Illustrated.*
2. Mr. McKinley's Character. *By H. B. F. Macfarland.*
3. The Late President's Speech at Buffalo.

President Theodore Roosevelt:

1. A Character Sketch. *With Family Portraits.*
2. Mr. Roosevelt's Speech at Minneapolis.

The Methodist Ecumenical Conference.

By Rev. J. Wesley Johnston. *With Portraits.*

The Episcopal Convention and Its Work.

By Florence E. Winslow. *Illustrated.*

Italy's Foremost Statesman, the Late Premier Crispi.

By Giovanni della Vecchia. *Illustrated.*

The Liberal Victory in Denmark.

By a Danish Correspondent. *With Portraits.*

A New England Village.

By a Sometime Villager.

The Minnesota Primary Election Law.

Experience with It to Date.

By A. L. Mearkle.

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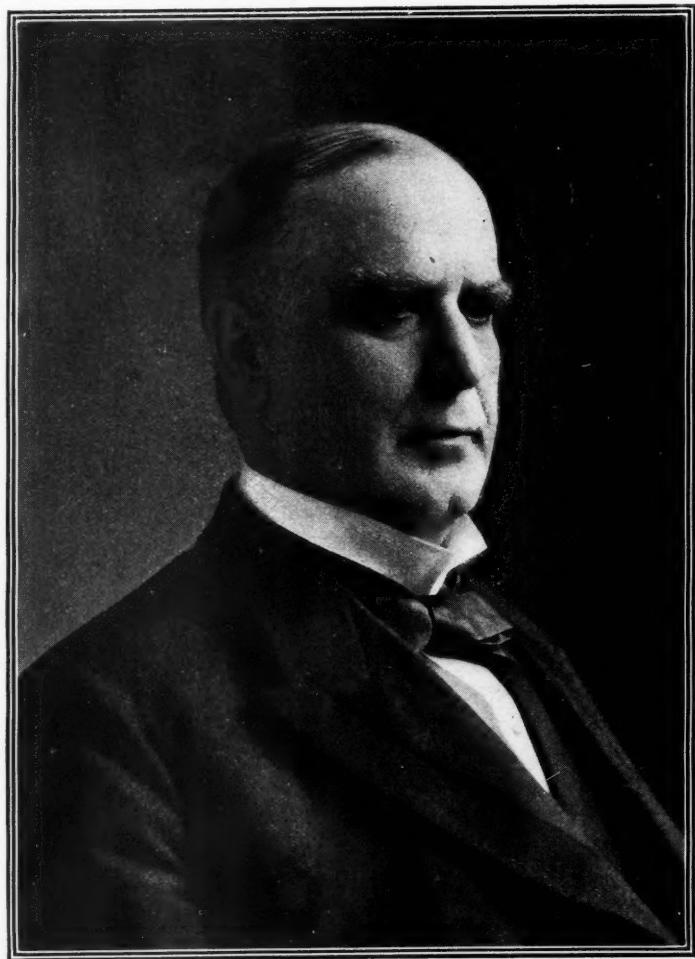
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WILLIAM M'KINLEY,
TWENTY-FIFTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.
BORN JANUARY 29, 1843. DIED SEPTEMBER 14, 1901.

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY

Review of Reviews.

VOL. XXIV.

NEW YORK, OCTOBER, 1901.

NO. 4.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

Other themes and topics were well-nigh forgotten last month in the world-wide concentration of interest and sympathy upon the one absorbing topic of the assassination of the President of the United States, with its attendant circumstances and its political and other immediate consequences. President McKinley, in fulfillment of a long-standing engagement, went to Buffalo to visit the Pan-American Exposition and to make a formal address, arriving on September 4, and speaking in the Esplanade of the Exposition at noon on Thursday, September 5, before a great multitude of people, surrounded by high American officials and representatives of foreign governments. On the following day the President spent the forenoon visiting Niagara Falls, and he returned to the Exposition in time to attend a public reception in his honor. While holding this reception, he was treacherously and wickedly shot by a man to whom he was extending his hand. The details of this terrible episode are recounted elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW by Mr. Walter Wellman. After a day or two of suspense, the country received the good tidings that the President's recovery was almost certain. But conditions against which surgery and medicine could not possibly have availed subsequently developed in the case, and President McKinley at length died as the direct result of the bullet wound. On the 12th, almost a week after the infliction of the wound, the reports had been most encouraging; but on the following day there came a radical change for the worse, and by 6 o'clock on the evening of Friday, September 13, it was plain that the President could not live through the night. The end came at about 2 o'clock Saturday morning, September 14.

The Vice-President, Theodore Roosevelt, had hastened to Buffalo upon learning of the attack on President McKinley, but had joined his family in the Adi-

rondacks when the President was declared to be out of danger. He returned to Buffalo, arriving at about noon on Saturday, the 14th, where, at the urgent request of the members of the cabinet, nearly all of whom were present, he promptly took the oath of office as President of the United States. Under our system, the Vice-President succeeds to the higher office immediately upon the death of the President, and no ceremonies or formal proceedings are necessary beyond the taking of the oath, which may be administered by any judge. The succession took place with the same absolutely unanimous acquiescence as in England, on January 23, when Edward assumed the vacant throne on the death of the Queen. Every department of the Government continued, without an instant's shock or tremor, under the officials already in charge.

The Deed of an Anarchist. The man who shot President McKinley seems to have been undoubtedly an anarchist,—at least, he had come under the influence of anarchists in such a way that his evil deed was suggested to him by their teachings. It is not strange that the average citizen should be perplexed and unsatisfied in his attempt to find some rational explanation for the strange existence of the black creed of anarchism in a free country like ours. The man who assassinated a President twenty years ago was a disappointed office-seeker whose morbid nature had become wholly poisoned with a feeling of personal hatred against James A. Garfield. The man who killed Abraham Lincoln fancied himself an avenger, representing a people and a cause after the culmination of one of the most bloody wars in all history. But the murder of President McKinley seems to have been an attack upon the Presidential office, so far as its motives were concerned, rather than an attack upon the particular incumbent of that office. It is not that the anarchists favor one kind of government rather than another, but that they are the enemies of all gov-

ernment. The anarchist who killed President McKinley belongs to a Polish family, although he claims to have been born in this country. He had become an anarchist through the teachings of a set of men and women nearly all of whom are European immigrants. Most of these anarchists are simply criminals, whose perverted instincts lead them to prefer confusion and chaos to social order and beneficent institutions. Their pretense of concern for workingmen is as impudent as it is false; for the political institutions of this country afford the greatest hope and reliance of all honest and intelligent sons of labor. The anarchists everywhere are enemies of society and of progress. They are deadly foes of real liberty.

The Anarchist Movement. It is, perhaps, unfortunate that the word "anarchist," like the word "socialist," should have come to be used so loosely and indefinitely as to include men of widely different ways of thinking. Thus, all the followers of Count Tolstoy, and all believers in the doctrine of non-resistance, are philosophically anarchists, because they deny the right to exercise authority,—and without authority there could be no such thing as government or state. But the adherents of this creed of non-resistance are, of course, as much opposed to violence against governmental authority, on the one hand, as they are to the exercise of coercion by the government itself. Quite apart from philosophies, creeds, and doctrines, the anarchist movement is the extreme expression of individual or social discontent. It can doubtless to some extent be hunted down as essentially treasonable and criminal; but it must not for a moment be forgotten that a very large measure of freedom of speech and general liberty is the best safeguard against the dangerous plotting of anarchists. Nothing has been more clear since the assassination of President McKinley than the fact that this great nation as a whole is absolutely untainted with the horrible virus of anarchism. That there are anarchists here and there in many towns and cities is evident enough, but they are not part and parcel of the community; they are extraneous. Their assassination of the President of the United States has had no more effect upon the firmness of our institutions than a puff of dust from the desert might have upon the Great Pyramid.

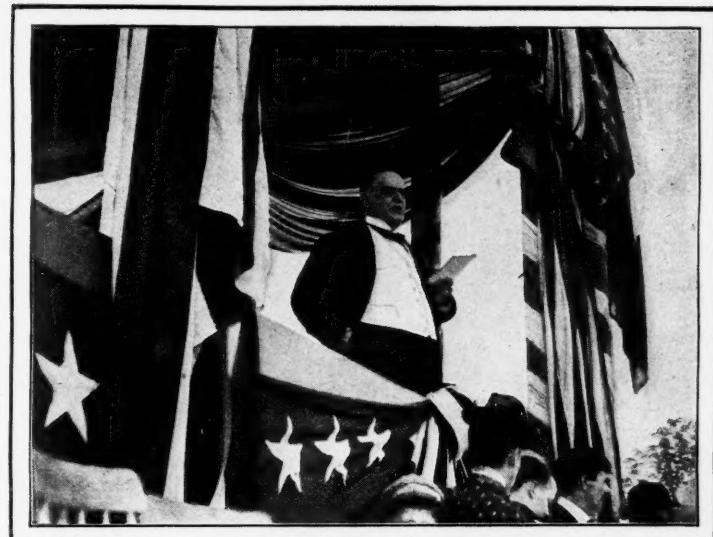
The Strength of Our Free Government. The American people as a whole are devoted to the Constitution of the United States, which provides for a government at the head of which shall be a President, elected for four years. They came forward, with entire acceptance of the system,

to decide, upon the majority principle, between the candidates of last year. Mr. McKinley and Mr. Bryan, let it be remembered, were not the only candidates. There were several others, representing socialistic and extreme radical groups, whose views might to some extent have been thought to approach certain of the views held by at least one branch of the anarchists. But practically nobody in the country cared for the opinions or candidates of these peculiar groups. Nearly all the voters were either for McKinley or for Bryan. Those who voted for Bryan were equally in favor of the principle of majority rule; and, accordingly, when it was clear that the majority had chosen McKinley, all the Bryan men were by that token perfectly loyal in the acceptance of the result, and they became as faithful to McKinley in the sense of upholding him in the position of President of the United States as if they had cast their votes for him. Thus, Mr. McKinley was not merely the selection of a little more than half of the people of the United States, but he became the selection of the entire country in deference to the majority principle,—because, otherwise, no such thing as government, peace, or social order could even be conceivable under conditions existing in our epoch. The opponents of Mr. McKinley, under our system, had a perfect right to use all customary methods of political campaigning to secure the election of their favorite, Mr. Bryan; and after his election, while sustaining him absolutely in his lawful place as President, all citizens opposed to his party or to his policy had a perfect right to criticise sharply both his methods and his public acts. We say this because there seems to exist in some minds a confusion between the excessive and intemperate kind of political criticism and the totally different position of the anarchists. In this country the test is not loyalty to a man, but loyalty to our institutions themselves; and the country met that test completely in its temper and behavior when Mr. Roosevelt took up the work of his stricken predecessor.

Right-Mindedness Exemplified. In all that occurred from the beginning of his fateful visit to Buffalo, through the days of alternate hope and fear to his dying moment, Mr. McKinley had exhibited a right-mindedness so perfect that human nature seemed capable of nothing better. And from the first news of the bullet-shot on September 6 to the final obsequies at Canton on September 19, Mr. Roosevelt had also exhibited such sincerity of feeling, and such unfailing discernment as to fitting words and right actions, that he also added something to our faith in the high possibilities of human nature. Further-

more, the conduct and the sentiment of the nation at large were so intelligent, so reasonable, and, in short, so essentially right-minded, as to afford a splendid illustration of the reality of American patriotism, and the repose and strength of our democratic institutions. Thus, the assassin's bullet,—aimed not at William McKinley the man so much as at President McKinley in his official capacity, and thus intended to weaken and injure the fabric of our institutions,—merely served to show at once the great-heartedness and moral worth of the two representative men chosen as heads of the state, and, further, to illustrate the wholesome mind and spirit of the nation after its long experience of freedom regulated by law. Thus, it has been made manifest that the American people do not hate their institutions, but rather that they love them, and that they have also the capacity, regardless of such minor differences as are expressed by political parties, to appreciate and to love the upright and faithful men whom they have chosen to be their chief public servants.

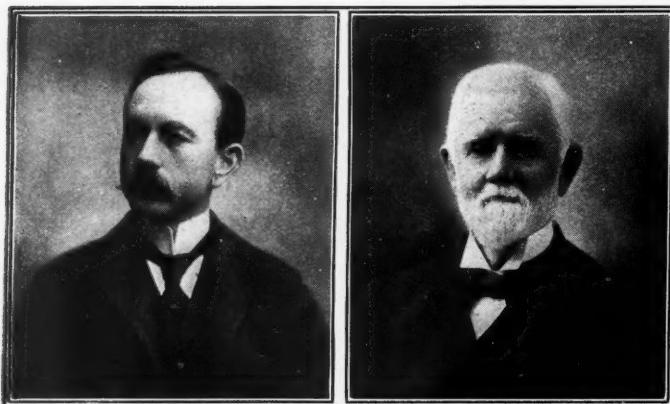
The Anarchists as a Practical Problem. Our institutions, then, are in no danger whatsoever from the anarchist movement. Assassination cannot reach or affect the Constitution of the United States. This splendid security of our institutions, moreover, is due, among other things, to that very freedom of action and speech that the anarchists so wickedly trespass against. There is a marked disposition to take some strong action against the anarchists as such. It is certainly true that they have no moral rights under our system. In logic, nothing could be more absurd than that the law should jealously preserve the life, liberty, and freedom of movement, action, and speech of the man who has avowedly dedicated his life to the destruction of all law and government. But how to make wise laws directed against the anarchist movement is a very difficult problem; and our legislatures will find that they cannot solve that problem offhand. Possibly the laws defining treason may be altered to some extent in order to make them recognize unmistakably the fact that the anarchist doctrine is essentially treasonable, and that such a deed as the one



PRESIDENT M'KINLEY DELIVERING HIS ADDRESS AT BUFFALO.

perpetrated at Buffalo is a crime against the state rather than murder in the ordinary sense. Revision of the immigration laws, with a view to the more complete exclusion of undesirable characters, may be a useful measure in its way; but it cannot, of course, be relied upon as a comprehensive remedy. After all, no direct measures taken by national or State lawmakers can accomplish very much. The best safeguard lies in our greater devotion as a nation to all the best ideals of a democratic republic. As to the personal safety of our high officers of state, and of other men conspicuous in the world of affairs, we may indeed exercise a little more care; but we cannot provide such safeguards as are thrown about a European monarch without such changes in our methods as are not feasible. Through all his life, Mr. McKinley had gone freely among the people; and so, also, has Mr. Roosevelt. Some new precautions, doubtless, can be used, but they will not involve radical changes.

The Trial at Buffalo. The trial of the assassin at Buffalo bids fair to be prompt, dignified, and thoroughly fair. He was indicted for murder in the first degree on September 16. No counsel appearing for the prisoner, it became the duty of the court to designate one or more attorneys to represent him in the trial; and upon the recommendation of the Buffalo bar two ex-justices of the Supreme Court—namely, Hon. Lorain L. Lewis and Hon. Robert C. Titus—were asked by Judge Emery to defend the accused. The task could not be a welcome one,



DISTRICT ATTORNEY PENNEY.

(Of Erie County.)

HON. LORAIN L. LEWIS.

(Of counsel for defense.)

but these experienced men could assume it as a duty, with the understanding that they were serving as representatives of the entire bar association rather than in their individual capacity. This action was much to the credit of the Buffalo bar. It was expected that the trial would begin on September 23, the prosecution being conducted by District Attorney Penney, of Erie County. Nothing that was publicly known about the assassin would lead one to think him insane in the sense in which insanity may be admitted as a defense in court. There is, of course, a moral sense in which all crime may be said to partake of the quality of insanity; but that is not the sense in which the word is used in criminal law. The effort to ascertain whether or not the assassin had acted as the agent of a conspiracy led to much police activity last month, and various arrests of anarchists were made, notably that of a woman named Emma Goldman, an anarchist lecturer whose name has often been in the newspapers, and who was taken into custody at Chicago. Even though some of these people were morally guilty, their legal guilt as conspirators might be very hard to prove.

The Character and Career of William McKinley. President McKinley had not only fewer enemies, but he also had a greater number of attached and devoted friends, than any other man who has ever been in American public life. This magazine,—in personal character sketches, in contributed reviews of his public policies and achievements, and in editorial comment upon almost countless occasions,—has published to the world the grounds on which it has believed William McKinley to be entitled to the hearty support and admiration of his countrymen. Its bound volumes for years

past are in large part a history of William McKinley and his times. We find nothing whatever to modify or revise in the many and extended estimates of his career, his character, his statesmanship, and his services to the country that we have published. As a man, his nature was at once so sincere and so friendly that he not only made hosts of friends, but succeeded in keeping them. His habitual unselfishness and consideration for others not only made him admirable in his private life, but undoubtedly furnished one of the principal keys to his success in public affairs. He could consider pub-

lic questions the better because of his own sincerity and disinterestedness, and he could work well with his colleagues when in Congress, and with his cabinet and with other public men while holding the office of President, because no complications arose out of defects or peculiarities in his nature or personal character.

Some Aspects of His Career.

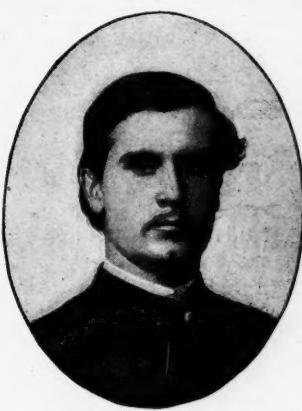
Doubtless, one of the chief formative influences of that rare character of his had been the long years of tender and unremitting care for an invalid wife from whom he was hardly ever absent even for a day. It is these things, more than people commonly suppose, that form strong character; and it is personal character in the long run, more than anything else, that differentiates the trusted and beloved public servant from the mere politician of craft and experience. Mr. McKinley's good and attractive qualities showed themselves as a boy in Ohio before he went into the Civil War at the age of eighteen. In the war he was faithful, diligent, trustworthy, and responsible, and was made captain of his company at twenty-one. Many older men of superior rank noted his sturdy worth. Every step in his subsequent career was honorable and creditable. He was sent to Congress term after term from a district normally Democratic simply because of his deserved popularity. He was respected in Congress as a master of the questions to which he gave his principal attention, and he became in due time chairman of the ways and means committee. He moved steadily and inevitably toward the Presidency. He gained executive experience by serving for two terms as governor of the great State of Ohio. His two elections as President had confirmed the conservative monetary and fiscal policy of the



1858.



1861.

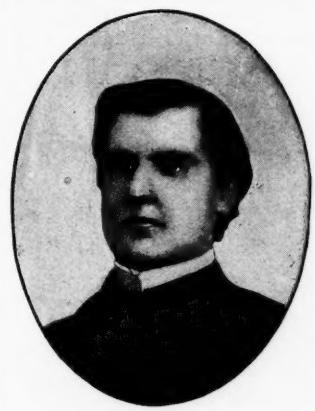


1865.

United States, and had thus contributed incalculably to our economic stability and general business prosperity. His conduct of the war with Spain, and his skillful management of the various questions growing out of it, had brought us not only safely but brilliantly through a period fraught with many difficulties and dangers. His management of our foreign relations had been so tactful and conservative as to inspire confidence throughout the world in the peaceful intentions and amicable spirit of the United States, and he had lived to see our relations with all sovereign nations, great and small, more entirely

harmonious than they had ever been at any time in the history of the American Government. Interesting and important questions were pending, to be sure, as must always be the case in the life of any progressive nation ; but no seriously critical matters were disturbing the United States, either in its domestic or its foreign relationships.

The New "Era of Good Feeling." With the second election of William McKinley, as all qualified observers had noted, we were fairly entered upon an era of good feeling in which the intensity of mere partisan spirit had quite disappeared, and



1866.



1877.



1881.

PRESIDENT M'KINLEY AT VARIOUS AGES.

in which all sections of the country were happy, harmonious, and confident as at no previous time. Mr. McKinley had won the confidence and esteem of the Democratic South, which he had recently visited, and he was beloved from Maine to California. It was not that he could be spared;—yet the historians of the future will probably agree that his death came at a rare moment of culmination, when his policies had been vindicated and accepted, and his high rank among American statesmen had been unassailably achieved. The truth of this was made plain in the hearty and unanimous outburst of approval with which the country received President Roosevelt's assurance, on taking the oath of office, that it was his intention to carry out absolutely the policies of his predecessor. Those men and newspapers, indeed, which only a little time before had been habitually in opposition to the policies of President McKinley were foremost in praising President Roosevelt for adopting those very policies as his own. And there was almost, if not quite, equal unanimity of approval when, a few days afterward, it became known that President Roosevelt had not only asked all the members of the McKinley cabinet to retain their portfolios for the present, but had absolutely refused to allow them to go through the formality of offering their resignations, and had assured them that in so doing he meant in all sincerity to invite and urge them to remain in office throughout the entire term, or as long as they would have remained if there had been no change in the Presidency.

Mr. Roosevelt's Theory of the Vice-Presidency. In doing this, Mr. Roosevelt was not only true to his quick instinct as to the course that would reassure and satisfy the country, but he was also acting in accordance with his own theory as to the proper relationship between the two offices of President and Vice President. On this subject he expressed himself clearly in an article that he wrote for this magazine during the campaign of 1896. Mr. Hobart had then been nominated on the ticket with Mr. McKinley. In the article to which we refer, published in September, 1896, Mr. Roosevelt reviewed the history of the Vice-Presidential nominations, and criticised sharply the custom "of offering the Vice-Presidency as a consolation prize to be given in many cases to the very men who were most bitterly opposed to the nomination of the successful candidate for President." Mr. Roosevelt went on to show how, on the death of the elder Harrison, "the Presidency fell into the hands of a man who had but a corporal's guard of supporters in the nation, and who proceeded to oppose all the measures of the immense majority of those who elected him." In

the case of the death of President Lincoln, Mr. Roosevelt remarks that "Johnson was put on the ticket largely for geographical reasons, and on the death of Lincoln he tried to reverse the policy of the party which had put him in office." His historical comment upon a more recent case proceeds as follows:

An instance of an entirely different kind is afforded by Garfield and Arthur. The differences between these two party leaders were mainly merely factional. Each stood squarely on the platform of the party, and all the principles advocated by one were advocated by the other; yet the death of Garfield meant a complete overturn in the personnel of the upper Republican officials, because Arthur had been nominated expressly to placate the group of party leaders who most objected to the nomination of Garfield. Arthur made a very good President, but the bitterness caused by his succession to power nearly tore the party in twain.

Mr. Roosevelt's own theory was that the Vice-President should be selected with very distinct reference to the fact that he might at any moment be called upon to act as President, in view of which he ought, at the outset, to be in recognized harmony with the President's policy and practical administration, and ought, further, to be kept in touch by close consultation. Under these circumstances, the Vice-President, being part and parcel of the administration, so to speak, would step quietly into the executive office in case of the President's death, and continue the administration with as little shock, uncertainty, or change as possible. On these matters Mr. Roosevelt expressed himself, in words that have now a peculiar interest, as follows:

The Vice-President should so far as possible represent the same views and principles which have secured the nomination and election of the President, and he should be a man standing well in the councils of the party, trusted by his fellow-party leaders, and able, in the event of any accident to his chief, to take up the work of the latter just where it was left. The Republican party has this year nominated such a man in the person of Mr. Hobart. But nominations of this kind have by no means been always the rule of recent years. No change of parties, for instance, could well produce a greater revolution in policy than would have been produced at almost any time during the last three years if Mr. Cleveland had died and Mr. Stevenson had succeeded him.

One sure way to secure this desired result would undoubtedly be to increase the power of the Vice-President. He should always be a man who would be consulted by the President on every great party question. It would be very well if he were given a seat in the cabinet. It might be well if in addition to his vote in the Senate in the event of a tie he should be given a vote, on ordinary occasions, and perchance on occasions a voice in the debates. A man of the character of Mr. Hobart is sure to make his weight felt in an administration, but the power of thus exercising influence should be made official rather than personal.

Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. McKinley.

While the late Vice - President Hobart was in no official sense a member of the cabinet, it is well known that President McKinley consulted him constantly and freely, and that Mr. Hobart was on intimate personal and official terms with the members of the cabinet, while also exercising a great deal of practical influence among the Senators, over whose deliberations it was his function to preside. It will be remembered that Mr. Roosevelt was the speaker at the Philadelphia convention who seconded Senator Foraker's nomination of President McKinley for another term, and that his speech was a fine tribute to Mr. McKinley's administration as well as a strong plea for Mr. McKinley's policies. Thus, it was perfectly well known that Mr. Roosevelt was in accord with the President who had made him a high official in the Navy Department, and had afterward commissioned him to high rank in the army. Furthermore, it is no secret that President McKinley, on his own part, sent word to Mr. Roosevelt, as Vice-Presidential nominee, that he would treat him exactly as he had treated Mr. Hobart, in case the ticket should be elected. Thus, Mr. Roosevelt went to Washington as Vice-President to enjoy the full confidence of Mr. McKinley in all matters of public importance, and also to enjoy the friendship and confidence of all the members of the cabinet. These were the circumstances under which Mr. Roosevelt's action, when the great emergency arose, was not one about which he had any occasion to falter or hesitate. The conditions were totally unlike those that had existed when former Presidents had died in office, and they were diametrically opposite to those at the time of President Garfield's assassination, when the



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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.

Vice-President was one of the leaders in an intense factional fight against the political plans and methods of the administration. Mr. Roosevelt's relations with the administration were thus so normal and appropriate that there was every reason to expect that in the case of Mr. McKinley's death he would take up the reins of administration exactly where they were laid down, and proceed as best he could with existing instrumentalities.

The Qualifications of the New President. This is no time for forecasts beyond those that are so obvious as to be unnecessary. In an article written at the request of the *Outlook* during the recent Presidential campaign, the editor of this REVIEW expressed the opinion that, all things considered, Mr. McKinley was at that moment the best-qualified man in the United States to fill the office of President, and Mr. Roosevelt the next best qualified. In view of this deliberate judgment, it would be absurd to try to offer any comfort to those persons who have professed to feel some anxiety lest Mr. Roosevelt's well-known diligence and energy in doing his duty might somehow prove disadvantageous to the country. It is simply enough to say that President Roosevelt is a man who acts with great vigor and courage, but not with what is called impulsiveness. The quality of impulsiveness in men implies the lack of proper energy and force in the making of initial decisions. Mr. Roosevelt uses the same kind and degree of energy and force in trying to arrive at wise and right decisions that he afterward uses in executing them. Such men are preëminently fitted for high executive tasks. We beg to call particular attention to an article about the new President on page 435 of this number of the REVIEW. It is neither a eulogy nor an apology, but a characterization. We also ask the attention of our readers to our republication in full of Mr. Roosevelt's strong and carefully prepared speech delivered in the presence of thousands of people at the Minnesota State Fair just four days before the assassination of President McKinley. This speech was not printed in any of the Eastern newspapers except in a somewhat meager abstract, yet it has immense significance in view of subsequent events, because it expresses so much of the personal and political creed of the man who was destined within a very few days to assume the most important executive position in the entire world. We also publish in full in this number of the REVIEW the notable address that President McKinley delivered at Buffalo on September 5, the day before the assault on his life. In its allusions to public policy this speech was particularly devoted to the expression of Mr. McKinley's interest in the extension of our trade under reciprocity arrangements. This is a policy heartily indorsed by President Roosevelt, and it is certain to command the attention of Congress as a foremost topic next winter.

The President's Independent Position. President Roosevelt becomes as fully responsible for the policies and methods of the administration as if he had been elected President instead of Vice-President.

There is no possible obligation resting upon him to abdicate his own will or judgment in any degree. This, of course, is fully understood by every one. His avowed adherence to Mr. McKinley's policies and his retention of high officials does not mean the suppression of his own views and preferences. It means rather that he finds it natural and agreeable to follow out lines of policy to which he was already committed, and finds it wholly congenial to work with the able and experienced public men under whom all the departments have been so well carried on that in the recent Presidential campaign there was no serious attempt made by political opponents to attack any one of them. No man since George Washington has come into the Presidential chair so absolutely free from personal claims of any kind upon him as has Mr. Roosevelt. The Vice-Presidential nomination was given him against his earnest protestations. The circumstances are too well known to be recounted here. Mr. Roosevelt has many political friends, but none who can claim any title to a reward; and, certainly, he has no disposition to punish his enemies. Nobody is entitled to consideration on the ground of having helped him to be President. When Governor of New York, he felt himself under obligation to consult at every step the preferences of certain leaders of the State Republican organization. These leaders had selected him as their candidate, had secured his nomination, and had aided in his election; and the consideration that he showed to them as governor was in every respect right and proper under our party system. It happens, however, that Mr. Roosevelt now finds himself President without the favor or help of any man. He finds a well-officered administration, the efficiency of which it will be his duty from time to time to enhance as much as possible. When vacancies occur he will be free to consider the good of the public service alone, and to appoint the very best men who can possibly be found,—since he has no pledges to redeem, no personal promises to observe, and no political debts to pay at the public expense. He can devote himself to the many interesting and important public questions that lie before us without much thought for office-seekers or for mere factional or party interests.

Throughout the whole civilized world *International Sympathy.* the news of the attack upon President McKinley was received with great concern, and his death brought forth expressions of sympathy and good-will for the people of the United States. In ceremonial ways the death of the President was recognized in almost every foreign land. In England, especially, deep feel-

ing was manifested by the King, the imperial government, the various municipal authorities, and the people as a whole. The press, with remarkable concurrence, showed an intelligent understanding of the high character and beneficent aims of President McKinley, and many finely phrased comments appeared in the European newspapers upon those touching evidences of a true and noble inner life that were revealed in the last utterances of the martyred statesman. In his Buffalo address, Mr. McKinley had shown how steam and electricity had served to bring the peoples of the world near together; and the expressions of the world on Mr. McKinley's death proved, in their turn, how much better the world had become in its broader sympathies and its more fraternal spirit through the closer and more accurate knowledge that the age of steam, electricity, and international expositions had made possible. In spite of the rivalries of the great modern nations for political empire and commercial growth, the era of international harmony and of the brotherhood of man is coming visibly nearer; and the universal mourning for the American President last month was in its various manifestations and expressions a remarkable evidence of rapid progress in the fraternizing of the nations. There was much sympathy expressed abroad when Lincoln was shot, and also twenty years ago, at the time of the assassination of Garfield. But in those times America seemed far away, and American affairs were very little understood in Europe.

McKinley as a Promoter of Peace. Although Mr. McKinley's administration was marked by a war with Spain, and subsequently by protracted campaigning in the Philippine Islands, the world already recognizes the fact that he was a great contributor to the cause of peace. He had found the island of Cuba in hopeless and bloody confusion, with two hundred thousand Spanish soldiers there suffering from disease and longing for home, while nearly two million Cubans were suffering from violent disturbances in all the relations of life. Mr. McKinley used every endeavor to relieve the Cuban situation without intervening by arms. When it became plain that nothing else would avail, he took the measures which released Spain from her intolerable position in Cuba and allowed her sons to return to their farms and shops and homes, thus laying the foundation for a better order of things in Spain than had existed for a century. Cuba at the same time was relieved from conditions that had made for perpetual disquietude. The Philippine Islands, on the other hand, where insurrection and disorder had reigned, were given

for the first time in their history an opportunity to realize the meaning of modern progress under the best possible guarantees. Throughout the thrilling episode of the Boxer rebellion in China, with its international relief expedition and the complicated negotiations that ensued, the influence of Mr. McKinley's administration more than any other one thing in the world stood for the principles of peace, good-will, forbearance, and generosity; and that influence was felt in firm moral protest against needless vengeance, wanton bloodshed, and shameful pillage. At an early period in the South African war, Mr. McKinley tendered the good offices of the United States to bring about a peaceful adjustment between the combatants. This was acceptable to the South African republics but refused by Great Britain. In the negligent attitude of the Turkish Government toward our just claims for indemnity, Mr. McKinley gave the most marked evidence of his forbearance and love of peace. He lived to see our claims adjusted by Turkey without hostile menace on our part. So far as we are aware, our international relations were so peaceful at the time of his death that there could not properly be said to exist in the slightest degree any diplomatic friction with the government of any other country whatsoever. As our readers are well aware, we hold the Hague Peace Conference to be destined to recognition in history as a great landmark in the progress of the world; and it will always be remembered that William McKinley was at that time President of the United States, and that his instructions to the American delegation had very much to do with diverting the Hague Conference from what must have been a fruitless parley about the limiting of armaments to the highly productive topic of arbitration as a practical remedy. Thus, Mr. McKinley will be entitled to share with the Czar of Russia the credit that history will accord for the success of the great international peace conference.

The Czar in France. It so happened that when President McKinley was shot the Czar was on Danish soil, visiting his kindred of the royal family of Denmark, with the further plan of proceeding on a visit to France, his chief motive being the general peace and harmony of Europe. He arrived at Kiel on the 14th, and there learned of the death of President McKinley. This event cast a deep shadow over the more festive part of the programme that had been arranged for the Czar's reception and entertainment in France, but did not affect the principal objects and plans of a visit to which all Europe has agreed in attaching the very highest impor-

tance. This visit had been arranged for last spring, probably at the time of the visit of M. Delcassé, the French foreign minister, to St. Petersburg, but the matter had been kept secret until August 20, when the French public was much elated by the official announcement that the Czar of Russia would attend the French



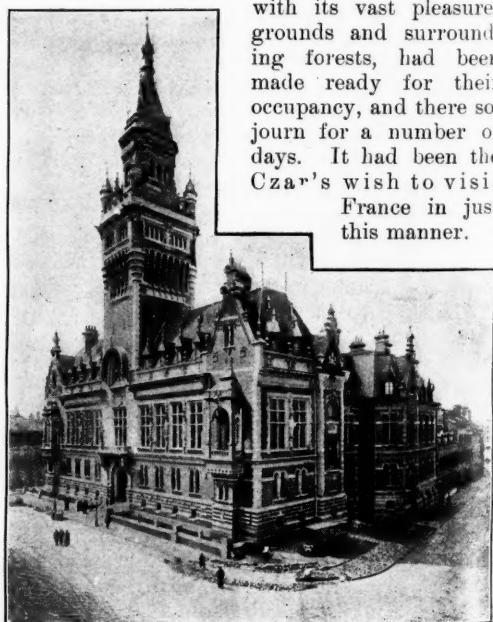
THE CZAR AND HIS FAMILY.

army maneuvers a month later. The French Government had desired a visit from the Czar on several grounds. Unquestionably, the Russian alliance is exceedingly popular in France, because it is regarded as helping to maintain French prestige and importance at a time when France has lost something of its former position as a great power. It was felt that a visit from the Czar would give tangible evidence that the alliance was a great reality and was to be maintained, and would thus reflect credit at home upon President Loubet and the administration of Premier Waldeck-Rousseau and his colleagues. This exhibition of close relationship between the existing French Government and the Russian Emperor and his government, it was hoped, would tend to strengthen the orthodox Republicans and correspondingly weaken the dangerous Nationalist movement, thus having its influence upon the parliamentary elections which are to take place in the not very distant future. On the other hand, the French alliance is of great ad-

vantage to the Russian Government in its determination to advance its policies and at the same time avoid war. But for the French alliance, Russia would have had to take a different course in the far East, or else risk a war with Japan. Furthermore, the Russian people are very poor, and the French people are very rich; and Russian plans for railways and other developments require a great deal of money, and new loans must be negotiated in the near future. Upon all these things the Czar's visit had some bearing.

The Plans for the Visit.

It was arranged that he should be received off the great French port and naval rendezvous of Dunkirk, where, from the deck of a French battleship, he and President Loubet would review a part of the French fleet. Great festivities were planned for the town of Dunkirk, including the dedication of a new town hall, a picture of which we present herewith as an interesting specimen of a new public building in a French town of forty thousand inhabitants. It was planned that the Czar should go by rail to the venerable and beautiful city of Rheims and witness the annual maneuvers of a portion of the French army, about one hundred and fifty thousand in number, that has its headquarters in that vicinity. Thence the Czar and Czarina were to betake themselves to Compiègne, where the famous and historic château, with its vast pleasure-grounds and surrounding forests, had been made ready for their occupancy, and there sojourn for a number of days. It had been the Czar's wish to visit France in just this manner.



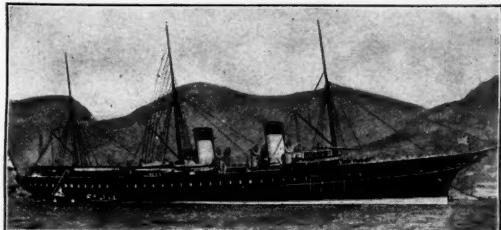
THE NEW TOWN HALL OF DUNKIRK.



THE CHÂTEAU OF COMPIÈGNE AS SEEN FROM THE GARDENS.

The Imperial Exchange of Courtesies. The Czar, with his family, and accompanied by high officials, arrived in the Russian imperial yacht *Standart* on the Danish coast on September 2, where he was received by the King and Queen, the Czar's mother the Dowager Czarina, and other members of the Danish family. They spent several days attending the pleasant and informal family reunion that has long been held every year in Denmark, and then on September 10 the imperial yacht *Standart* started on its further voyaging. By previous arrangement, this Russian yacht was met off the German coast near the port of Dantzig by the German royal yacht *Hohenzollern* with Emperor William on board. Nicholas joined the German Emperor, and a memorable luncheon was served on the *Hohenzollern*, the Emperor William having the Czar on his right hand and the Grand Duke Alexis on his left, while among other guests were the German chancellor, von Bülow, Count Lamsdorff, Russian minister of foreign affairs, and many other military, naval, and civil officials, both Russian and German, of the highest rank. The Czar visited the various German warships, and subsequently the Emperor William returned the visit, and, accompanied by his brother, Prince Henry, admiral of the German fleet, went on board the Czar's yacht *Standart*, where he and Prince Henry dined. The Czar conferred decorations on von Bülow and Prince Eulenburg, while the Kaiser similarly honored Count Lamsdorff and the Russian General Fréedericks. The following day, September 12, the German squadron began a series of grand maneuvers with a sham attack upon the fortified shores of Dantzig, and the Kaiser and the Czar witnessed it all from the deck of the flagship *Wilhelmsweite*. This exchange of courtesies was considered unusually significant.

The French Welcome. The Czar did not land upon German soil, but proceeded to Kiel, where the *Standart* passed through the North Sea Canal on her way to the French port of Dunkirk. President Loueb,—simple, unaffected, and popular,—was on hand early at Dunkirk to receive the distinguished visitors. While the President exposed himself with no very unusual precautions, almost every conceivable measure was taken to protect the Russian monarch. His railway journey to Compiègne on the 18th was over a stretch of road from which all other traffic was withdrawn, while for the entire distance the track was guarded by soldiers on both sides, in some places by a first line of infantry and a second line of cavalry; and no human being was allowed even to approach the railway at any point. The beautifully illuminated street leading from the railway station to the château of Compiègne was likewise lined all the way by soldiers. On the 19th the Czar visited Rheims and its famous cathedral, and witnessed the army maneuvers in the vicinity, mingling freely with the soldiers, and evidently noting with satisfaction the high state of efficiency to which the French army has now been brought. Paris was brilliantly illuminated in honor of the landing of



THE RUSSIAN IMPERIAL YACHT "STANDART."

the Czar on French soil, and it was noted as at once a curious and pathetic fact that the blazing lights of the evening of the 18th, when the McKinley funeral train was arriving at Canton, rendered all the more vividly conspicuous along the boulevards and avenues of the gay French capital a great number of American flags draped in black.

Factors Making for Peace. The conferences between the two emperors off Dantzig had been friendly in a high degree, and were intended among other things to prove to Europe and the world the sincerity of the desire on the part of the German and Russian governments to maintain the peace of Europe. These exchanges of greeting were not meant to weaken in any manner the impression that the Czar's sojourn in France was to give as to the strength and the importance of the Franco-Russian alliance, but were evidently meant, on the other hand, to show that the Triple Alliance and the Dual Alliance could now each recognize the other as a valuable and even desirable factor in maintaining a European balance that makes for peace and stability. European governments are more and more in accord with the sentiment and aspiration of their respective peoples. Obviously, the first wish and desire of the people of every great nation is for the maintenance of honorable peace; for nothing else

brings such suffering to homes and communities as war. It is therefore a total mistake, fostered sometimes by newspapers and sensational correspondents, to suppose that the life of the high courts and chancelleries of Europe consists beneath the surface in deep plots and intrigues having a warlike bearing. Both the Triple and the Dual alliances are for defense rather than offense, and are intended to promote peace. The Triple Alliance, which was for a fixed term, is quite certain to be renewed next year, although it may be modified in some respects. The natural ties between Italy and France,—and their commercial relations especially,—are so important that Italy cannot well afford to allow her position in the Triple Alliance to weaken them.

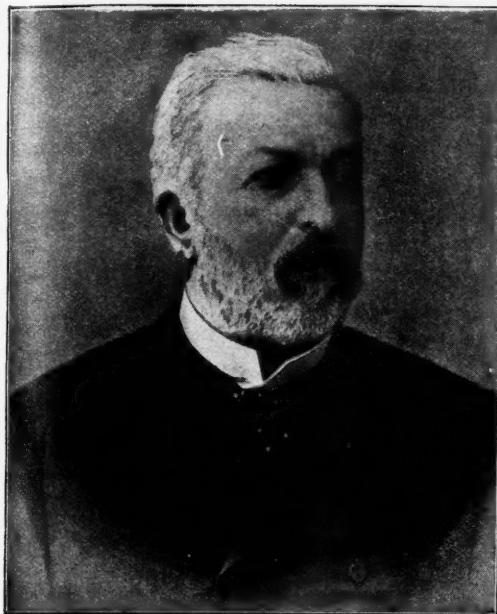
Possible Elements of Discord. Furthermore, there are intricate questions relating to the future of the Dalmatian coast that might well cause some difference of opinion between the Italian and Austrian governments. There is great uneasiness in the Balkan states and the adjacent parts of Turkey in Europe,—namely, Macedonia and Albania; and in the final working out of these unsettled problems of the Balkan region it happens that Russia, Austria, Italy, and Germany are all keenly interested. It is needless to say that the smaller states of Servia, Bulgaria, Herzegovina, and Greece are also intensely wrought up over these questions. They have all been in a state of suspense and momentary expectancy for many weeks past. Sooner or later, the Turkish Government must withdraw from Macedonia, and there must be a readjustment of jurisdiction. If this can be accomplished without plunging any of the states of Europe, even the smaller ones, such as Servia and Bulgaria, into bloody war, it will be a great triumph for modern European statesmanship. There are few unsettled problems the disappearance of which would make so auspiciously for perpetual peace as the final disposition of Turkey's mismanaged European estates.



A HAPPY RETURN.

MADAME LA RÉPUBLIQUE: "Ah, Nicholas, mon bien-aimé, I knew you'd come at last, if I only kept on asking you!"

France and Turkey. The French ambassador to Turkey, M. Constans, a powerful and distinguished statesman, arrived in Paris toward the end of August. He had notified the Turkish Government that he had been instructed by M. Delcassé, the foreign minister, to break off pending negotiations and return home as a mark of displeasure. Munir Bey, the Turkish ambassador at Paris, was at the same time told by the French Government that his further presence would not be acceptable. The news of this diplomatic rupture caused something of a flurry in Europe for a few days, and naturally led to

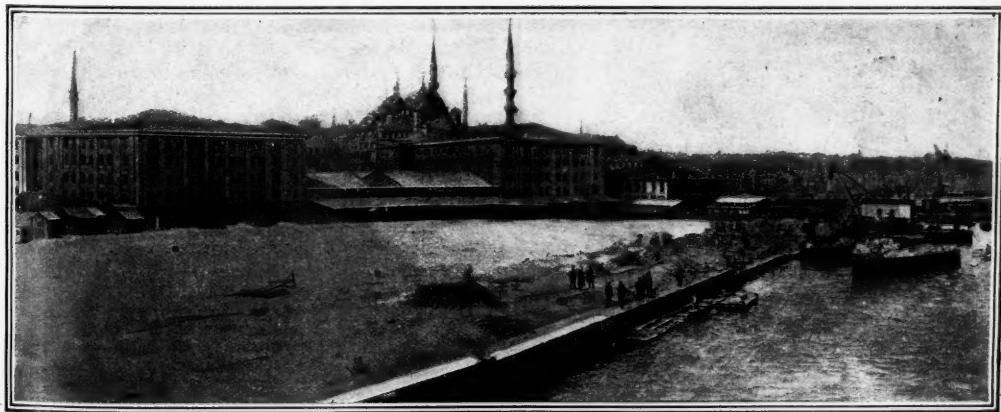


M. CONSTANS, AMBASSADOR TO TURKEY.

rumors of impending war. What it meant was merely that the Turkish Government had been playing fast and loose with its promises to settle certain French claims which had been passed upon and acknowledged to be just. The most important of these was the claim of a French company which had built quays at Constantinople, and which had then failed to obtain the promised legal title to its land and water-front. The Turkish Government had changed its mind, and had decided that it did not wish the quays to be in the hands of foreigners. This made it necessary for the French company to part with

its property on the promise of a proper monetary indemnity, and it had accordingly done this ; but the Turkish Government, having taken over the property, would not pay the bill. The Sultan undertook, after the departure of M. Constans, to obtain German or other foreign backing, but without any success. The situation is not so simple in its details as it might seem from a statement of its bare outlines. There was no money, of course, in the Turkish treasury with which to pay the claim, and it would seem that when the Sultan proposed to raise a loan for the purpose of settling with the French creditors he was met by the firm resistance of his councilors, without whose coöperation he could not conveniently act, although absolute in theory.

Abdul's Quar-
ter-Century. It was just twenty-five years on the thirty-first day of August since the conspiracy took effect by which the present Sultan came to the throne and his brother Murad was deposed. The anniversary occasion was one of official festivities in Turkey, and had to be recognized to some extent by the diplomatic world ; but it was hardly to be expected that European congratulations would be very hearty. Abdul Hamid's record has not been an attractive one, with its Armenian massacres and its long list of outrages. It is true, however, that he has rehabilitated the Turkish army, and in other ways consolidated the strength of the Turkish empire. For many years past he has lived in constant terror and has died a thousand deaths through fear of assassination ; yet this hated autocrat and wholesale assassin had just completed his twenty-five years of usurped authority when William McKinley, the free choice of his countrymen and universally esteemed, was stricken down. There was some reason to suppose that after the usual Turkish



THE QUAYS AT CONSTANTINOPLE WHICH ARE IN DISPUTE.

period of shuffling delay the French claims would be settled and diplomatic relations once more established. The French Government had taken a position which meant plainly that a French fleet would proceed to enforce the claims after the Czar's visit had ended, unless approved steps had been taken by the government at Constantinople to meet its obligations. Meanwhile, the French authorities gave Turkey an object-lesson or two by heaping honors upon the Egyptian Khedive, and by expelling from the country the Turkish spies who have heretofore kept watch upon the movements of the leaders in Paris, Brussels, and Geneva of the so-called "Young Turkey Party," the object of which is the overthrow of Abdul Hamid.

Chinese Protocol Signed. On September 6, the very day of Mr. McKinley's assassination, the official news was sent out from Washington that on the following day the Chinese plenipotentiaries and the representatives of the powers, including the United States, at Peking would bring to an end the negotiations which had been pending for an entire year by signing the treaty, or protocol, as it is technically termed. Our readers have already been apprised of the general basis of pecuniary indemnity that had been agreed upon. The protocol provides for certain changes in the Chinese revenue system, including the increase of duties on specified commodities and the abolition of the corrupt internal rice tribute. The new duties, which are to be *ad valorem* at first, are to be converted to the form of specific duties at an early day on a basis of average prices during recent years. The evacuation of the Forbidden City was accomplished on September 17, when a Japanese general with 200 soldiers and Major Robertson with 100 American troops made over their task of military protection to 300 Chinese soldiers. This, with the departure of a British battalion from India, practically ended the evacuation of Peking by the allies. The entire province of Chili was turned over to China on September 22. In another clause of the protocol it is provided that henceforth foreign nations are to communicate, not



THE SULTAN OF TURKEY, WHO HAS RULED TWENTY-FIVE YEARS.

with the Tsung-li-Yamen, as heretofore, but through a new foreign office, the first head of which is to be Prince Ching, who has acted as one of the peace plenipotentiaries, and with whom two associate foreign ministers will act, while the practical work of the office will be performed by some younger Chinese diplomats who have served in Washington, Paris, and elsewhere

Various Chinese reforms in the examination system, the educational system, and in other directions have been announced. New and powerful defenses have been provided for that quarter of Peking in which the foreign legations are situated, and each legation will keep a moderate military guard. Mr. Herbert G. Squiers, secretary of



PRINCE CHUN IN EUROPE, ON THE MISSION OF EXPIATION TO GERMANY.

the American Legation, left Peking for the United States at the beginning of September, Minister Conger being on duty again. Our special commissioner, Mr. Rockhill, started for the United States by way of Japan on September 8, and several European diplomats of high standing also left Peking last month after the signing of the protocol. The Americans, it may be noted incidentally, were the first to restore to China certain river vessels or barges which had been seized for transport purposes. Another of the closing incidents of the Chinese episode was the reception at Potsdam, on September 4, by the German Emperor of Prince Chun, who came from Peking at the head of the special mission to make expiation for the murder of the German

minister, Baron von Ketteler. Prince Chun is the brother of the Emperor, and he bore to the German Kaiser a very remarkable letter from the nominal sovereign of China. When the expiatory act was done, the innocent young Prince Chun and his suite were treated very kindly in Germany. The matter had been so arranged that it involved little, if any, humiliation to the prince. Its completion facilitated the signing of the protocol at Peking.

South African Events. Rumors were current in Europe that the meeting of the Czar and Kaiser off Dantzig, and subsequent conferences between the heads of the Russian and French governments, might lead to some form of protest on the part of Continental Europe against England's methods in South Africa. But these rumors seemed to have no foundations except in the wishes of many people. Unquestionably, the sympathies of all Europe continue to be intensely pro-Boer. Lord Kitchener's proclamation of August 7 had designated September 15 as the date upon which a new policy would begin. The purport of this proclamation was to deny the Boers their belligerent rights. The leaders were told that unless they had capitulated before that date they would be permanently banished from South Africa. In any case, Lord Kitchener might have remembered that considerable parts of South Africa belong, respectively, to Germany and Portugal. But the main criticism upon the proposed policy lies in the fact that, like various other measures already taken or seriously proposed by the English in South Africa, it is contrary to the laws and usages of civilized warfare. Lord Kitchener continues to send in his formidable weekly lists of surrenders and captures; but these have begun to shock the credulity of certain skeptical statisticians, who show by a simple process of addition that all the Boer fighters must by this time have been captured, according to the weekly reports,—yet the war goes on, with thousands of Boers still in the field. The South African spring has now begun, and the grass on the veldt provides forage for the horses and cattle of the Boers, and aids them in a renewed exhibition of activity. Lord Kitchener reported during the first two weeks of September that 1,240 of the enemy had been killed, wounded, and captured, or had surrendered voluntarily. But on the 18th he was obliged to report that General Botha had captured three companies of mounted British infantry, of whom 16 were killed and 29 wounded, while 155 others were made prisoners and three pieces of artillery were taken. This happened near Utrecht, not far from the Natal line, and it was understood that Botha was planning an invasion of Natal. On September

20, the report was received from Lord Kitchener that the Boers had captured a company of mounted infantry and two guns at Vlakfontein. President Krüger has instructed the Boers in the field to fight on, and refuses to give up hope. The English papers are full of the news of arrests and trials of Dutchmen in Cape Colony and Pretoria on the charge of acting as spies, or of giving aid to the enemy. Dr. Krause, formerly governor of Johannesburg, was arrested in London early in September on the charge of espionage.

English Notes. English public men have been scattered everywhere, spending their vacation season according to their tastes.

The King and Queen have been on the Continent, visiting the Queen's parents at Copenhagen, and extending their travels to Sweden, where on September 20 they were guests of King Oscar of Sweden and Norway. There have been renewed reports that Lord Salisbury would soon retire, and that his place as premier would be taken by Mr. Balfour; but these have not been confirmed. September 20 was the date for the unveiling of the great statue of King Alfred at Winchester, on the occasion of the millennial celebration in honor of that noble ruler. Lord

Rosebery, who was the orator of the day, declared: "King Alfred wrought immortal work for us, and for our sister nation over the sea, which in supreme moments of stress and sorrow is irresistibly joined to us across the centuries and across the seas." Mr. Charles Francis Adams spoke for the American delegates. The principal universities of the English-speaking world were represented, and the occasion was a very notable one. The colossal statue is the work of William H. Thornycroft. Winchester was King Alfred's capital, and he was buried there in October of the year 901. Mr. Frederic Harrison, who did



MR. BALFOUR PLAYING GOLF
IN SCOTLAND.

much to interest Americans in the King Alfred celebration on the occasion of his recent visit to this country, delivered an important address, and Sir Henry Irving and other distinguished men participated in the programme. Alfred is a great figure in the history of the English-speaking race, not merely on political grounds, but also on those of the English language, literature, law, and ethical ideals.

The Heir-Apparent in Canada. After leaving Australia and New Zealand, the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York visited the chief seaports of British South Africa, where they were received and entertained with the same enthusiasm that they had witnessed in Australasia. Canada was their next destination, and the royal yacht *Ophir* duly arrived at Quebec under escort of several powerful ships of the British navy. Very great preparations had been made at Quebec, Montreal, and Ottawa for celebrations extending from the 16th to the 24th of Septem-



STATUE OF ALFRED THE GREAT.



H.R.H. THE DUCHESS OF CORNWALL AND YORK.

ber. The programme in the main was carried out, but it was modified on the side of its banqueting and feasting by reason of the sympathy felt in Canada for the people of the United States. The 19th, the day following Mr. McKinley's funeral, was set apart as a day of mourning in Canada, and services were held in many churches. It was quite seriously suggested in England that the Duke of York should in person attend the funeral of President McKinley, as the most conspicuous mark that the British nation could show of its sympathy and good-will; but the duke had just arrived, and there was not time to make the necessary arrangements. He was, however, represented at Canton by Commander Faussett, of the royal navy, who is an aide-de-camp to the duke. The duke's plans were made for a five weeks' visit in Canada. According to the itinerary, after four days at Ottawa he was to leave on the 24th for the far West, breaking journey at Winnipeg on the 26th, Regina on the 27th, and Calgary on the 28th, arriving at Vancouver on the 30th. After four days at Vancouver and Victoria, the return journey was to begin, and Toronto was to be reached on October 10. After two days there, visits were to be made to various towns in western Ontario, and Niagara was to be reached



H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CORNWALL AND YORK.

on the 14th, and Kingston and the Thousand Islands on the 15th. Sherbrooke is scheduled for a brief visit on the 16th, and St. John, New Brunswick, on the 17th and 18th. The 19th and 20th are assigned to Halifax, and early on Monday, October 21, the *Ophir* is expected to set sail for home with the royal pilgrims.

End of the Steel Strike. On Saturday, September 14, President Shaffer, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Plate Workers, with certain of his associates on the executive committee, came to New York and entered into an agreement with officials of the constituent companies of the Steel Corporation by virtue of which the strike was declared at an end. The strike had begun on July 15, and had, therefore, lasted sixty-one days. It had completely failed in its objects. The strike had been ordered at a time when the men were, comparatively speaking, very well off indeed, and when they had no actual grievances at all. On each successive occasion that attempts were made to settle the strike the basis proposed became a little worse for the strikers. Under the plan finally agreed upon, those union mills which the strikers had succeeded in keeping closed will continue to be recognized as under the auspices of the Amalgamated Association. The agreement made no provision for the displaced union men in the case of those mills which had been wholly or partly reopened with non union substitutes. Great bodies of the strikers were bitterly disappointed by a settlement that left them out in the cold,

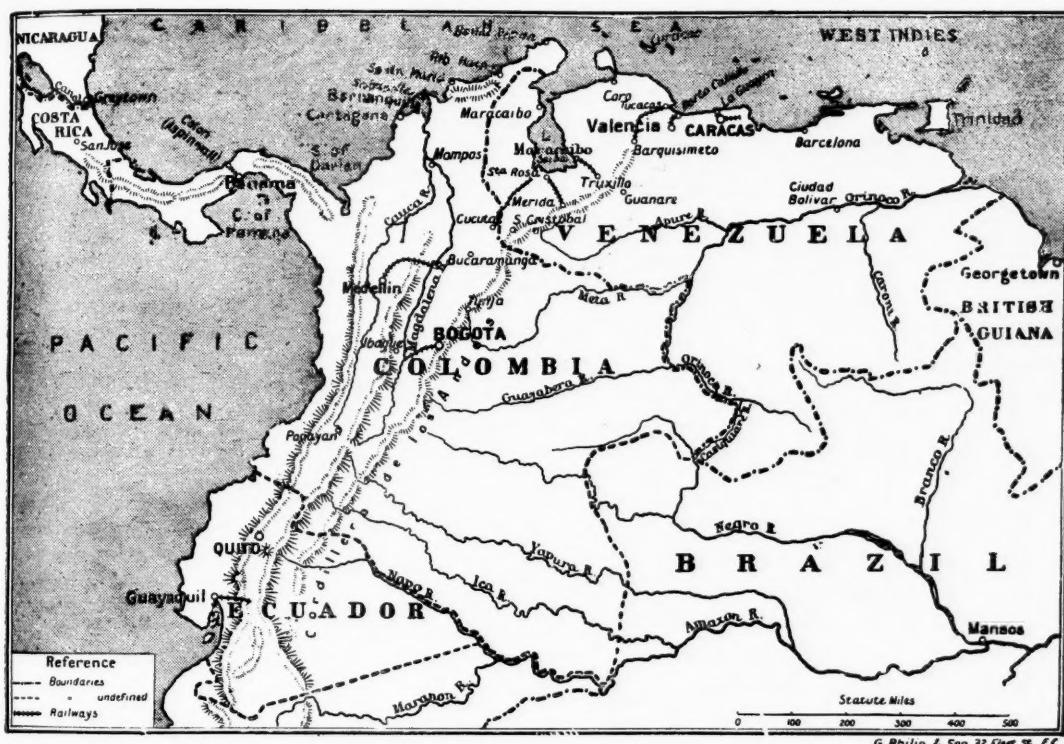
and declared that they would not recognize the arrangement. But the strike as an authorized action of the Amalgamated Association was at an end. There is no need to moralize upon the subject. Organized labor will need no help in discovering at least some of the lessons to be learned from this wretched chapter of experience. Under the circumstances, the settlement was a fair one, and it was recommended to the Amalgamated Association, after due conference with the Steel Corporation officials, by a committee of the National Civic Federation, including Mr. John Mitchell, president of the United Coal Miners; Mr. Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor; Mr. Frank Sargent, head of the Locomotive Firemen; Professor Jenks, of Cornell University; Mr. Henry White, of the Garment Makers' Union, and Mr. Ralph Easley, secretary of the Civic Federation. These gentlemen deserve the thanks of all parties in interest, including the public at large, for their services in bringing the strike to an end. The Amalgamated Association is weakened, but by no means destroyed. Wage-scales were not affected by the strike, but unionism has had a setback. The Steel Corporation showed great firmness through the whole period, but did little or nothing to arouse bitter passions. Neither side should cherish any resentment or ill-will. It was rather prematurely taken for granted in England that the steel strike might result in a deadlock that would cripple American industry and thus diminish the pressure of international competition; but results of that kind will have been too small to signify much.



THE GREAT "TRUSSED;" OR, THE AMERICAN GULLIVER.

(An English idea of the probable effect of the strike on the American steel industry.)--From *Punch* (London).

The Business Situation. The settling of the steel strike doubtless made it easier to maintain business confidence in the critical period following the President's assassination than would otherwise have been the case. The general business situation of the United States has continued to be excellent. The comparatively bad outlook for the corn crop has been fully appreciated since midsummer, but a very large wheat crop was harvested, which, though it may not prove to have amounted to 700,000,000 bushels, as was expected, can scarcely have fallen below 650,000,000. The general opinion about the corn crop is that it will amount to about 1,400,000,000 bushels. This will be the smallest corn crop we have had for more than twenty years, with the exception of the year 1894. The



standard figure for the American corn crop is fully 2,000,000,000 bushels. Railway reports show growth in business and unusual prosperity. Recent reports, on the other hand, of some of the great industrial corporations have been unfavorable as compared with last year. The Treasury Department's statistics of exports and imports for the twelve months up to September 1 show a larger volume of foreign trade than in any previous year of our history. Our exports, for the first time in any twelvemonth, had exceeded \$1,500,000,000. Our imports were valued at \$843,681,000, an amount almost exactly the same as that of the previous year. The great growth of our exports during this past year has been due to the demand for agricultural products, the purchase of our manufactured goods having somewhat declined. This decline has been about equally divided between manufactures of copper and those of iron and steel. While there is no immediate reason to predict especially enhanced business activity, there are, on the other hand, no signs that would point to serious reaction or decline. The temporary stringency in the New York money market last month was measurably relieved by the liberal purchase of bonds on behalf of the Treasury by Secretary Gage.

*Colombia
and
Venezuela.*

The real sources of uneasiness in the northern part of South America have not been clearly revealed. Doubtless, if the truth were known, it would be found that there are beneath the surface plottings of some such kind as those that have from time to time produced ferment in the Balkan states and in southeastern Europe at large. The states of Central America, and the three South American republics of Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador are all more or less vexed with revolutionary movements. The government of Colombia seems to think that the particular revolutionary movement that it is contending against has been fostered and abetted by the authorities of Venezuela, on the one hand, and of Ecuador on the other; but this is denied, and although friction between Venezuela and Colombia has been serious, there had not late in September been any declaration of war or any open movement by one republic against the other. The reports, however, have been exceedingly meager and haphazard. It may be well to remember that both Venezuela and Ecuador are in the control of the Liberal party, whose best-known statesman is General Castro, now President of Venezuela. Colombia, on the other hand, is in the control of

the Conservative or Clerical element, against which the Liberal opposition has for a long time been of a revolutionary nature, the revolutionary leader at present being General Uribe. Undoubtedly, the movement of Uribe has the sympathy of Castro and the Venezuelan Liberals, but to what extent they have given active aid we have not been able to find out. It is quite possible that if the Liberals should come into control of Colombia active steps would be taken to bring together again into a federal or a consolidated republic these three states of Venezuela, Ecuador, and Colombia, which began as one republic under the name of Colombia in 1819, and which after a brief period of years split up into three independent countries. Our warships that were dispatched to the Isthmus in August found order very well restored. It is hoped that the Pan-American Congress, which meets in the City of Mexico on October 22, will in its moral effect have a steady influence upon South American conditions. It has at length been happily decided by Chile and Peru not only to attend the Congress, but to send representatives of great ability and prestige.

Seth Low for Mayor of New York. After the most searching considera-

tion, the numerous elements and groups that had undertaken to unite upon a candidate for mayor and other municipal officers of New York found that no agreement was possible upon the name of any available man except upon that of President Low, of Columbia University. Mr. Low had been the candidate of the Citizens' Union and the independent voters at the last municipal election, but had been defeated through the fact that the regular Republican organization had put forward General Tracy and diverted votes enough to elect the present Tammany government. This Tammany administration has, in the opinion of most good citizens, been so unworthy that there could be no excuse for the assertion of mere party preference in the face of the possible calamity of another Tammany administration. The Republicans had under these circumstances thought it wise to unite upon an independent Democrat; but since the anti-Tammany Democrats did not



PRESIDENT CASTRO.

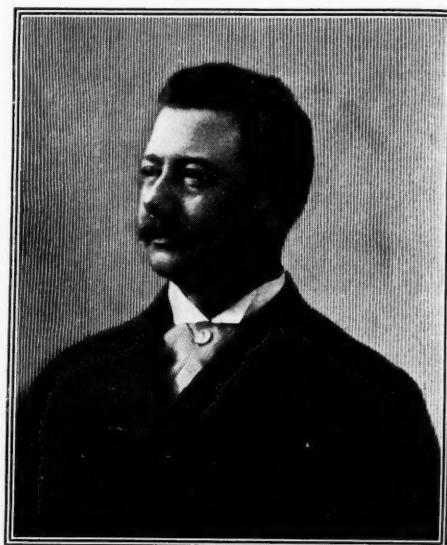


Photo by Pach Bros.

PRESIDENT SETH LOW.

succeed in bringing forward a candidate from their own number, there was very general agreement upon Mr. Low. For the great financial office of comptroller, Mr. Edward M. Grout, a Brooklyn Democrat, was chosen. Mr. Croker had returned to New York from his home in England to take charge of the Tammany campaign, but he had not authorized the publication of the name of his candidate for mayor at the date when this number of the REVIEW was closed for the press.

The Schley Inquiry. The naval court of inquiry, which had been set for September 12, to pass judgment in the matter of the reflections upon the conduct of Admiral Schley in the Santiago campaign, did not begin active proceedings until the 20th, on account of the death of the President. Meanwhile, the objection of Admiral Schley to one member of the court—namely, Admiral Howison—was sustained, and Admiral Ramsay was substituted for him. Many witnesses were summoned, and the reports of the sessions were given by the press with much detail and were read with uncommon interest throughout the country. Early in the course of the proceedings a decision was rendered by Admiral Dewey and his two associates to the effect that questions of fact alone were to be dealt with in the taking of evidence. Otherwise, of course, all the naval officers called as witnesses might have qualified as experts and given the court an interminable series of mere



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[Beginning at the left, the first three men are Admiral Schley's counsel—viz., Judge Jeremiah M. Wilson, of Washington, D. C.; Attorney-General Isidor Raynor, of Maryland, and Capt. James Parker, of New Jersey. Next come the three judges—namely, Rear-Admiral Andrew E. K. Benham (retired), Admiral George Dewey, and Rear-Admiral Francis M. Ramsay (retired). Next is Capt. Samuel C. Lemly, judge-advocate, and then Rear-Admiral W. S. Schley himself. Standing behind Schley is Mr. E. P. Hanna, solicitor of the judge-advocate-general's office.]

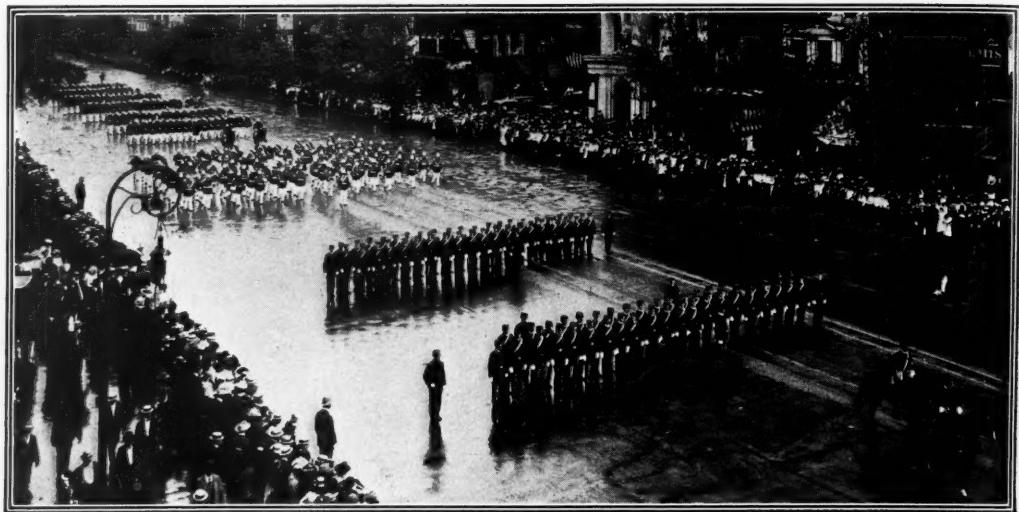
THE SCHLEY COURT OF INQUIRY AT WASHINGTON.

opinions on the various matters under investigation. This decision bade fair to shorten the inquiry, as well as to diminish needless controversy.

Word has come, not only of the safety of Lieutenant Peary in his long Arctic exile, but also of his notable and valuable achievement in actually tracing the northern boundary line of Greenland. He has not succeeded this year in making his proposed dash for the Pole, but has perfected his plans for spending another winter in the frozen north, and will try again in the season of 1902. It has been well said of Lieutenant Peary's method that, while ambitious, like the other explorers, to achieve the great honor of reaching the Pole, he manages his expeditions in such a way as to make them always contribute positively to science. Meanwhile, he has gone a little farther north

than any one else has ever done from the western hemisphere or Greenland side of the Arctic zone, and he may yet reach a higher latitude than Nansen. Reports from Norway are to the effect that the Baldwin-Ziegler expedition has made a favorable start.

The trial races for the honor of defending the *America's* cup against Sir Thomas Lipton's yacht *Shamrock II*. did not result in favor of the new yacht *Constitution*, as had been generally anticipated. The *Columbia*, which successfully defended the cup two years ago against *Shamrock I*, was adjudged the better of the American sloops. The death of President McKinley caused a postponement of the trials between *Columbia* and *Shamrock II*, and the date finally fixed for the first race was September 26.



A PART OF THE M'KINLEY FUNERAL PARADE ON PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, WASHINGTON.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From August 19 to September 20, 1901.)

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

August 20.—The completion of the new Alabama constitution is announced.

August 21.—Virginia Republicans nominate Col. J. Hampton Hoge for governor....Iowa Democrats nominate Thomas J. Phillips for governor....President McKinley issues a proclamation inviting all nations to participate in the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, to be opened at St. Louis on May 1, 1903.

August 23.—For the first time in the history of Alabama, a grand jury indicts white men for lynching a negro.

August 28.—Nebraska Republicans nominate a State ticket.

August 30.—President McKinley appoints William H. Hunt governor of Porto Rico.

September 2.—Vice-President Roosevelt delivers an address at Minneapolis on national duties (see page 441).

September 3.—The Alabama Constitutional Convention adjourns.

September 4.—The special session of the Texas Legislature adjourns....President McKinley arrives at Buffalo to attend the Pan-American Exposition.

September 5.—President McKinley makes an address at the Pan-American Exposition (see page 432)....A second special session of the Texas Legislature meets to pass appropriations for the State government.

September 6.—President McKinley is shot twice by one Leon Czolgosz in the Temple of Music at the Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo, N. Y.; one bullet enters the President's right breast and is at once removed; the other bullet passes through the stomach and is not found; the wounds are operated on, and the President survives the operation.

September 10.—Secretary Gage announces that he will buy \$20,000,000 of United States bonds, in order to put some of the Treasury surplus in circulation.

September 11.—In accordance with the recent decision of the Supreme Court, Judge LaCombe, in the United States Circuit Court, orders judgment in favor of the American Sugar Refining Company in the matter of its demand for repayment of duties paid on sugar imported from Porto Rico, amounting to \$490,139.09.

September 12.—The Schley court of inquiry holds its first session at Washington; Rear-Admiral Schley's objections to Rear-Admiral Howison as a member of the court are sustained by the other two members, and adjournment is taken until a successor to Rear-Admiral Howison is designated by the Navy Department.

September 13.—Rear-Admiral Ramsay is appointed the third member of the Schley court of inquiry, in place of Rear-Admiral Howison, excused from serving.

September 14.—President McKinley dies at the home of John G. Milburn, in Buffalo, as a result of the wounds inflicted by Leon Czolgosz on September 6; the members of the cabinet, with the exception of Secretary Hay and Secretary Gage, are present....Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt takes the oath of office as President of the United States before Judge John R. Hazel, at Buffalo; he asks the members of the cabinet to retain their portfolios.

September 15.—Brief services over the body of President McKinley are held at the home of John G. Milburn, and are attended by President Roosevelt, members of the cabinet, and personal friends; the body is then taken to the Buffalo City Hall, where it lies in state.

September 16.—President Roosevelt and the members of the cabinet accompany the body of President McKinley from Buffalo to Washington....Leon Czol-

gosz is indicted at Buffalo for the murder of President McKinley, and counsel are assigned to defend him.

September 17.—Funeral services over the body of President McKinley are held in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington; the body lies in state and is viewed by thousands of people; in the evening, the funeral train starts for Canton, Ohio, the President's home.

September 18.—The body of President McKinley lies in state at Canton, Ohio....President Seth Low, of Columbia University, is named by the anti-Tammany conference as candidate for mayor of New York City.

September 19.—The last services over the body of President McKinley are held at Canton; business is generally suspended throughout the country; memorial services are held in all the principal cities of the world; in the United States, in accordance with a proclamation of President Roosevelt, the day is observed as a day of mourning.

September 20.—President Roosevelt holds a cabinet meeting in Washington and reiterates his intention to carry out the policies of the McKinley administration.The Schley court of inquiry reconvenes.

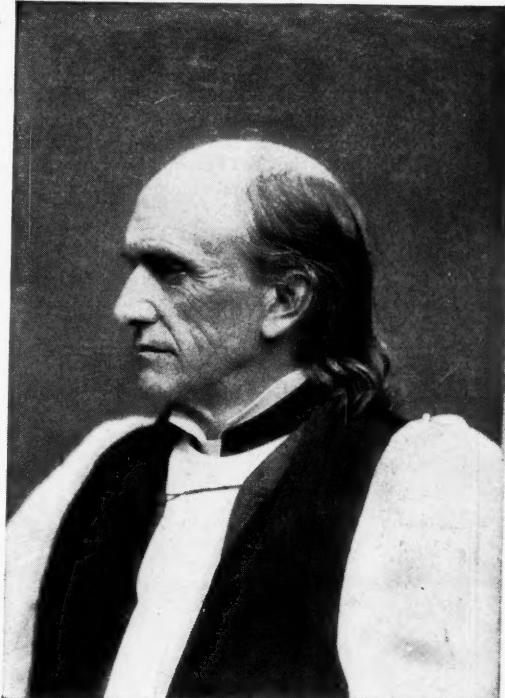
POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

August 25.—The Bombay Legislative Council passes the land-revenue bill by a vote of 14 to 9.

August 30.—The Chilean Congress ratifies the election of President Riesco.

September 1.—The Danish Liberals hold a notable demonstration at Copenhagen; Premier Deuntzer outlines his political programme, including tax reform and reforms in the system of judicature (see page 452).

September 3.—King Edward appoints a British commission to investigate Dr. Koch's theories on tuberculosis.



THE LATE BISHOP HENRY B. WHIPPLE.

(Famous as the friend of the North American Indians.)



THE FUNERAL OF THE EMPRESS FREDERICK AT POTSDAM, AUGUST 13.

(King Edward and Emperor William followed the casket on its way to the mausoleum.)

September 7.—Dr. Raymon Batros Luco is appointed premier of Chile.

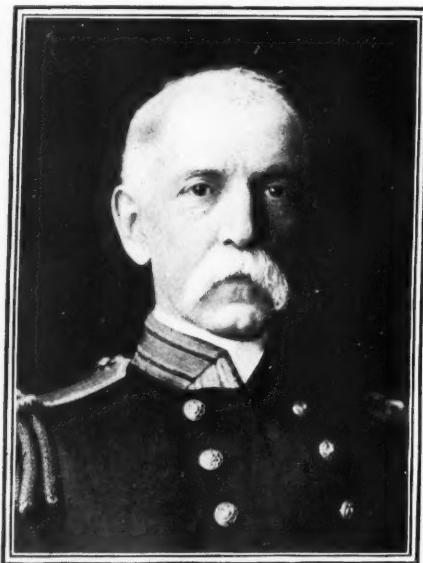
September 10.—The murderer of Hoshi Toru, the Japanese cabinet minister, is sentenced to penal servitude for life.

September 17.—The States-General of the Netherlands are reopened; Queen Wilhelmina, in the speech from the throne, emphasizes the need of social reforms.

September 20.—The Netherlands budget shows a deficit of 13,000,000 guilders (\$5,200,000).

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

August 20.—The Chinese court receives the final protocol of the allied powers....In the Argentine Senate



REAR-ADmirAL FRANCIS M. RAMSAY (RETIRED).

(Third member of the Schley court of inquiry.)

the minister of foreign affairs announces that the Argentine and Chilean governments have formed an agreement not to increase armaments.

August 21.—M. Constans, the French ambassador to Turkey, breaks off diplomatic relations with the Porte because of the latter's alleged breach of faith in the matter of the quays concession.

August 23.—Ambassador Constans again demands of the Sultan the payment of the French claims.

August 24.—Japan lodges a protest against the American system of medical inspection at the ports of Hawaii. The State Department at Washington notifies Venezuela and Colombia that any breach of amicable relations between the two governments will be sincerely deplored by the United States.

August 26.—M. Constans, the French ambassador to Turkey, leaves Constantinople, and diplomatic relations between the two governments are practically broken off.

August 27.—It is announced that Ecuador and Nica-

ragua intend to remain neutral in the Venezuelan-Colombian dispute.

August 29.—M. Ruystenaer, chief secretary of the Dutch ministry of foreign affairs, is elected secretary-general of the Hague Court of Arbitration.

August 31.—The exequaturs of all consuls of Colombia in Venezuela are withdrawn....The Chilean Congress appropriates funds for the expenses of a delegation to the Pan-American Congress at the City of Mexico.

September 1.—Venezuela issues a memorandum to foreign powers explaining her attitude in the controversy with Colombia....The Nicaraguan Congress approves the commercial treaty with the United States.

September 3.—The appointment of Peruvian delegates to the Pan-American Congress is announced.

September 4.—Emperor William of Germany receives Prince Chun, of China, at Potsdam; the prince expresses regret for the murder of Baron von Ketteler.

September 6.—The Sultan orders the release of Miss Stone, an American missionary, and her woman companion, who were carried off by brigands.

September 7.—A Venezuelan fleet bombardes the port of Rio Hacha, on the northern coast of Colombia.... The protocol between the allied powers and China is signed at Peking.

September 9.—The Chilean Congress approves the appointment of two delegates to the Pan-American Congress.

September 10.—The Sultan of Turkey settles one of the French claims.

September 12.—The European powers indorse the demand of Spain for the release of Christian captives in Morocco.

September 17.—The Chinese troops re-enter Peking; the Americans and Japanese hand over the Forbidden City.

September 18.—Venezuelan troops occupy the Colombian town of Rio Hacha....The Czar and Czarina land at Dunkirk, France, and are warmly welcomed.

MILITARY OPERATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

August 21.—A Cape Colonist named Upton is shot as a spy in the British lines....Treason trials of the second class begin at Burgersdorp; fifty-one voters

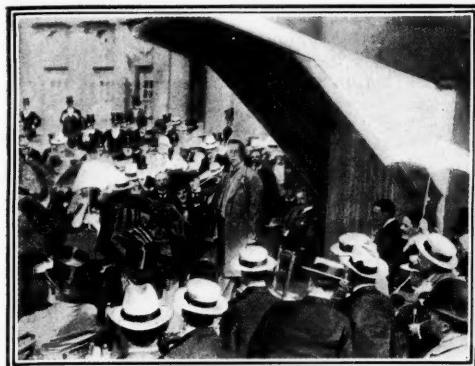
are deprived of the privilege of franchise, and fifty-five non-voters are declared forever ineligible to attain the right of franchise.



THE LATE HERMAN O. ARMOUR.

August 22.—Ten Boer prisoners, all young men under thirty years of age, are sentenced to penal servitude for life in Bermuda, while three others are sentenced to be shot; at Swellendam, in Cape Colony, a number of Boer sympathizers are arrested and lodged in the town prison.

August 24.—Lord Kitchener reports that Commandant Delarey issued a counter-proclamation to his....The



MR. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN ADDRESSING A MEETING OF BRITISH CONSERVATIVES AT THE RESIDENCE OF THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Boers in the midland districts of Cape Colony go southward.... The Boers along the main routes in Cape Colony and Natal cut the telegraph wires and destroy small sections of the railway.... It is reported that President Steyn and De Wet are close to the eastern border of the Orange Free State.

August 25.—Lord Kitchener reports having received a long letter from President Steyn replying to his proclamation, and letters from Generals De Wet and Botha to the same effect. Lord Kitchener also reports that 3 officers and 65 men, sent north from Ladybrand on right of Elliott's columns, are surrounded and captured by the Boers on August 22.

August 26.—Lord Kitchener reports that a convoy is attacked by the Boers near Kooikopje, on the way from Kimberley to Griquatown on the 24th; the Seventy-fourth Imperial Yeomanry had 9 killed and 23 wounded. Mr. Merriman, the leader of the Africander Bond in the Cape Parliament, is under arrest on his farm near Stellenbosch.

August 28.—Two more rebels have been shot at Graaf Reinet.

August 31.—A train is blown up and burned by the Boers in the Transvaal; Colonel Vandeleur and 9 men are killed and 17 wounded.

September 3.—General De Wet issues a proclamation that all British troops found in the Orange River Colony after September 15 will be shot.

September 6.—Lord Kitchener reports that the British troops have killed, wounded, or captured Lotter's entire command south of Petersburg; the British casualties are 10 killed and 8 wounded.

September 8.—General Methuen is engaged with van Tonder and Delarey in the Great

Maries Valley; British casualties, 25 killed and 30 wounded.

September 17.—The Boers under General Botha ambush three companies of British mounted infantry commanded by Major Gough, near Scheepers Nek: the British are overpowered, losing 2 officers and 14 men killed, 5 officers and 25 men wounded, and 5 officers and 150 men prisoners, besides three guns.

September 20.—Lord Kitchener reports the capture by the Boers of a company of British mounted infantry and two guns at Vlakfontein.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

August 19.—The Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York are received at Cape Town.... The United States Steel Corporation opens several of its mills with non-union men.

August 20.—The United States battleship *Iowa* sails from San Francisco for Panama.

August 31.—A freight train on the Great Northern Railroad, in Montana, crashes into a passenger train, killing 36 persons, nearly all workingmen.

September 1.—A flood at Cleveland causes damage estimated at more than \$500,000.

September 2.—A trade-union congress meets at Swansea, Wales.

September 4.—The Methodist Ecumenical Conference opens in London (see page 446).

September 5.—The yacht *Columbia* is selected, in preference to the *Constitution*, to defend the *America's Cup* against *Shamrock II*.

September 9.—The annual encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic is opened at Cleveland.

September 11.—A fire at St. Johns, N. F., causes the loss of two lives and \$500,000 damage.... The British Association for the Advancement of Science meets at Glasgow.

September 13.—News is brought by the steamer *Erik* to North Sydney, Cape Breton, that Lieutenant Peary



GEN. CHRISTIAN DE WET AND HIS STAFF.



A BRITISH GENERAL'S HOPE DEFERRED.

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF S. A., LORD KITCHENER (reading latest news from England) : "House up! Grouse plentiful! Yacht-racing in full swing! I wonder when we shall get our holiday?"—From *Punch* (London).

has rounded the Arctic archipelago and reached the most northern known land....The steel strike is declared off at Joliet, Ill.

September 14.—A statue to John Ericsson, designer of the *Monitor*, is unveiled at Stockholm....On account of President McKinley's death, the international yacht races for the *America's cup*, scheduled to begin on September 21, are postponed five days.

September 16.—The Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York are welcomed at Quebec.

September 19.—Sixty-seven lives are lost by the foundering of the British torpedo boat *Cobra* off the Lincolnshire coast.

September 20.—Lord Rosebery unveils the statue of King Alfred the Great at Winchester, England, in connection with the millenary celebration.

OBITUARY.

August 20.—Señor Carlos Morla Vicuna, Chilean minister to the United States, 57....M. Albert Nyssens, late Belgian minister of industry, 45....Prof. Karl Weinold, of Berlin University, 77.

August 22.—Chief Justice Sir George William Burton, of the Ontario Court of Appeal, 83....Ex-Congressman Isaac W. Van Schaick, of Milwaukee, Wis., 84.

August 23.—Gen. Sir Charles Reid, 81.

August 24.—Gunnar Wennerberg, the Swedish poet and composer, 84....Col. P. T. Woodfin, governor of the National Soldiers' Home at Hampton, Va., 61.

August 25.—Robert G. Evans, United States district-attorney for Minnesota, 47.

August 26.—Dr. Thomas M. Markoe, professor emeritus of surgery at Columbia University, 82.

August 27.—Joaquin Godoy, Chilean minister to Brazil....Gen. Fabius J. Mead, a veteran of the Civil War, 62.

August 28.—John R. Thomas, a prominent New York architect, 53.

August 29.—Ex-Gov. Charles A. Busiel, of New Hampshire, 59.

August 30.—Brig.-Gen. William Ludlow, U.S.A., a veteran of the Civil War and of the war with Spain, 58....John D. Lankenau, the Philadelphia philanthropist, 84.

August 31.—Lorimer Stoddard, the playwright....Dr. Morris C. Sutphen, instructor in Latin at the Johns Hopkins University.



THE LATE JOHANNES VON MIQUEL.
(Ex-minister of finance, Prussia.)

September 2.—Henry C. Durand, a pioneer citizen of Chicago, 73.

September 3.—Samuel Porter, said to be the oldest living Yale graduate, 91....Rev. Moses Harvey, Newfoundland historian and scientist, 81.

September 4.—Dr. Lewis G. Janes, a famous writer and lecturer on ethical philosophy, 57....Rev. Dr. William H. De Puy, editor and author, 80....William Brisbane Dick, the New York publisher, 74....Ex-Congressman William Copeland Wallace, of New York, 45.

September 8.—Dr. Johannes von Miquel, former Prussian minister of finance, 72....Herman O. Armour, the New York pork and produce merchant, 64.

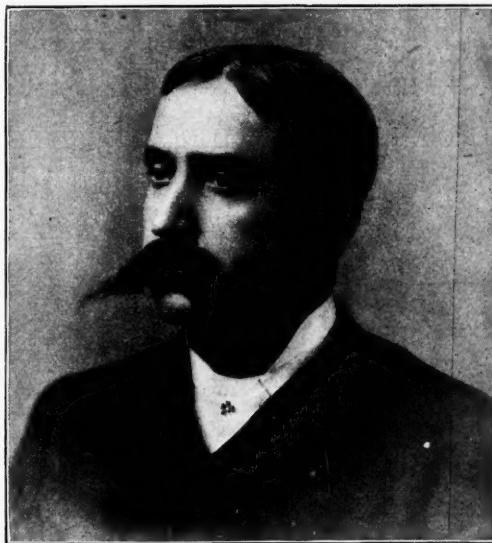
September 12.—Eugene Diaz, the French composer, 64....Gilbert K. Harroun, treasurer of Union College, 64.

September 14.—William McKinley, twenty-fifth President of the United States, 58 (see pages 414-432).

September 15.—James Hooker Hamersley, of New York City, 57.

September 16.—Bishop Henry Benjamin Whipple, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 79....Calderon Carlisle, a well-known Washington lawyer, 50.

September 18.—Mrs. Mary Churchill Hungerford, contributor to American newspapers and magazines....Maj. Hiram Paulding, grandson of one of the captors of Major André, 70....James G. Batterson, of Hartford, Conn., builder of the Congressional Library at Washington, 78.



THE LATE GEN. WILLIAM LUDLOW, U.S.A.

September 20.—Ex Congressman George West, of Ballston, N. Y., 78....Charles C. Delmonico, managing proprietor of the Delmonico restaurants of New York City, 40.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

THE following conventions and gatherings have been announced for this month:

RELIGIOUS.—The Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip, at Pittsburg, October 31-November 3; the Universalist General Convention, at Buffalo, October 18-23; the Christian and Missionary Alliance, at New York, October 3-13; the Triennial Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, at San Francisco, October 2 (see page 449); the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, at Hartford, Conn., October 8-11; the American Missionary Association, at Oak Park, Ill., October 22-25; the National Council of Congregational Churches, at Portland, Maine, October 12-18; the American Christian Missionary Society, at Minneapolis, Minn., October 10-17; the General Council of the Lutheran Church, at Lima, Ohio, October 10.

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL.—The Road Masters' and Maintenance of Way Association, at Washington, D. C., October 8-10; the National Rivermen's Association, at Baltimore, October 8-9; the Actuarial Society of America, Boston, October 24-25; the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, at St. Louis, October 21; the National Association of Retail Druggists, at Buffalo, October 8-11; the National Hardware Association, at Buffalo, October 14; the American Warehousemen's Association, at Buffalo, October 16-18; the National Farmers' Congress, at Sioux Falls, S. D., October 1-10; the National Wholesale Druggists' convention, at Old Point Comfort, Va., October 14-19.

RAILROAD.—The Order of Railroad Telegraphers, at San Francisco, October 14; the Railway Superintendents of Bridges and Buildings' Association, at Atlanta, Ga., October 15; the American Railway Association, at St. Louis, October 23; the Railway Signaling Club, at Buffalo, October 8; the American Society of Railway Superintendents, at Buffalo, October 16; the American Street Railway Association, at New York City, October 9-11; the American Association of General Passenger and Ticket Agents, at Asheville, N. C., October 15.

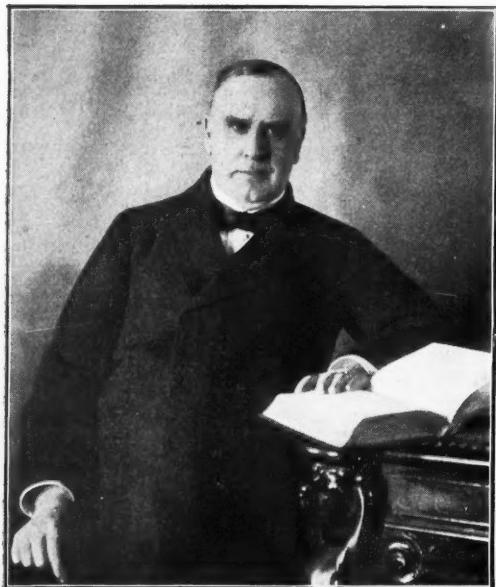
PATRIOTIC.—The National Union Veterans' Encampment, at Chicago, October 15-17; the reunion of the Society of the Army of the Cumberland, at Louisville, Ky., October 8; the Medal of Honor Legion, at Buffalo, October 9-10; the Union Veterans' Legion National Encampment, at Gettysburg, Pa., October 7-12; the Ladies' Union Veterans' Legion National Encampment, at the same place, October 8.

MISCELLANEOUS.—The Yale Bicentennial, at New Haven, October 20-23; the Pan-American Congress, City of Mexico, October 22; the National Spiritualists' Association, at Washington, D. C.; the American Humane Association, at Buffalo, October 15-17; the Seventh Congress of Teachers in High Schools Without Latin, at Marburg, Hesse-Nassau, Prussia, October 7-8; the American Asiatic Association, at Albany, N. Y., October 17; the National Household Economic Association, at Buffalo, October 15-17; and the American Society of Municipal Improvement, at Niagara Falls, October 1-4.

THE LAST DAYS OF PRESIDENT M'KINLEY.

HIS VISIT TO BUFFALO, THE TRAGEDY, AND THE NATION'S MOURNING.

BY WALTER WELLMAN.



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THE PRESIDENT AT HIS DESK.

PRESIDENT M'KINLEY arrived in Buffalo September 4. He was in good health and excellent spirits. For a month he had been at his home in Canton, resting, enjoying relief from most of the cares of his office. During this four weeks' holiday he had mingled with his old friends and neighbors. He had walked about the streets of Canton and taken long drives in the country. He had taken especial pleasure in visiting his farm, a few miles from Canton; and whenever he could get some old friend in the carriage by his side he found keen delight in extended excursions and protracted conversations. For this brief season he threw off, as far as possible, the consciousness of being President, and became again the simple American gentleman. I have been told by Judge Day, Senator Hanna, and other friends who visited and rode and talked with the President at this time that it was the happiest period of his life. His wife had re-

covered from an illness which carried her to the very portals of the grave; she was now stronger than she had been for several years. His own health was most excellent; the strain and stress of two Presidential campaigns, and of nearly four years of unremitting toil in the executive chair—probably the most trying post to be found in all the world—had left no marks upon him. All his family and private affairs were in a most desirable condition. Thanks to economy and good management, he had recovered from the financial disaster which a few years before left him bankrupt, and had now a modest but sufficient competency. He was able to look forward with fond anticipations to his retirement from public life, and could see therein the probability of many years of quiet, dignified happiness.

When the President went to Buffalo he was, as a public man, at the zenith of his fame. He felt that he had had great work to do, and that he had done it well. He knew the estimate the world was placing upon him and his achieve-



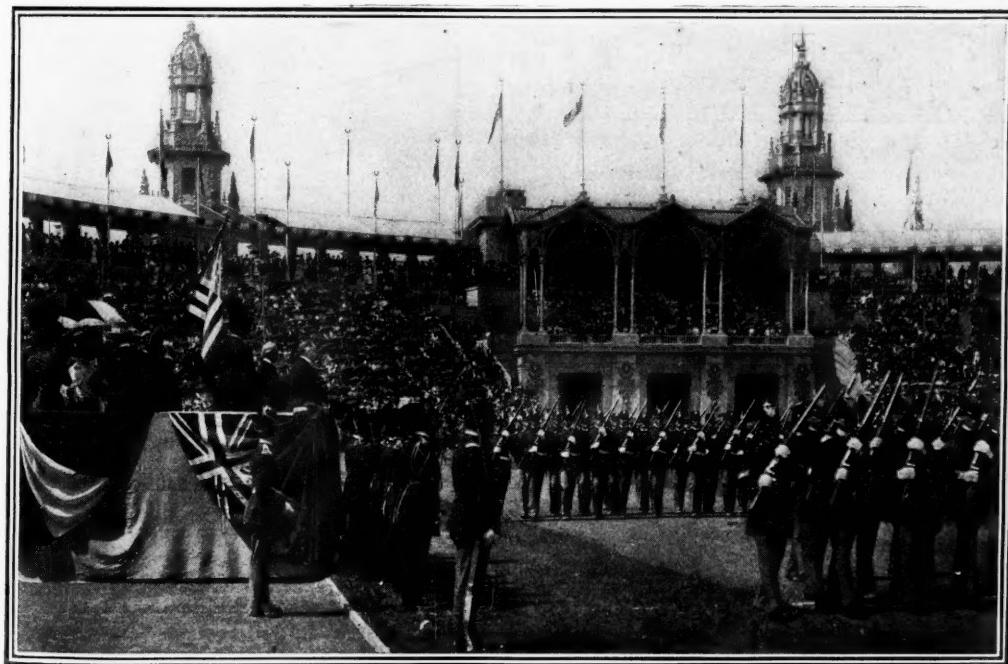
MRS. M'KINLEY.

ments, and he was content therewith. He had grown amazingly since he first took hold of the reins of government, and he was conscious and properly proud of this growth. He knew that he had piloted the country through a stormy period, and had piloted it so well that even his political opponents had little criticism to offer. He was aware that more than any other President since Washington he had softened the rancor of party opposition ; that he was liked and trusted by all the people ; that the last remnants of sectionalism had disappeared under his gentle ministrations ; that the people were more united in spirit, in good-will, in optimistic outlook, than they had ever been before. These things the President often spoke of to his intimate friends ; he found keen satisfaction in them,—not in any egotistic or vain spirit, but in the consciousness of having done much for his country, for its material prosperity, for the uplifting of his people to a higher and better view. He was prouder of this than of any of his other achievements.

He knew, too, that the world's estimate of him had changed. He knew that he had grown abroad as well as at home. Though by instinct and training his horizon had in earlier years been virtually bordered by the frontiers of the

United States, though domestic affairs had then engrossed his thoughts, the Presidency had broadened him. Circumstances had made his administration a world activity instead of a purely domestic concern. He had met, and met successfully, all these problems coming from without. He had risen to his opportunities. He had done as well in the international as in the purely national field. He had failed in nothing. He had impressed himself so favorably upon the nations that their respect for him as man and leader, their respect for the Government and the people whose spokesman he was, had visibly heightened. Mr. McKinley found natural and proper satisfaction in the consciousness that he had been able to take this high place in the world's esteem, that the earlier estimate of him as a man of single idea and of wholly insular view had given way to a broader appreciation. He was especially pleased with the knowledge that in one international episode—that of China—he and his Secretary of State, Mr. Hay, had been able to pitch the world's concert in a higher key, and to make the United States the moral leader of the nations.

Thus, Mr. McKinley went to Buffalo in a most happy frame of mind. He was not una-



PRESIDENT M'KINLEY REVIEWING TROOPS AT BUFFALO.

(The day before the tragedy. The President is the figure in the extreme front of the reviewing-stand.)

ware of his phenomenal popularity, and he was human enough to like the incense of that verdict of "well done" expressed in the plaudits of the people without regard to party lines. Exceedingly grateful to him were these evidences that the masses had responded to his teachings and his example, that the gospel of kindness, of faith in America and Americans, of hopefulness and work, of meeting responsibilities in



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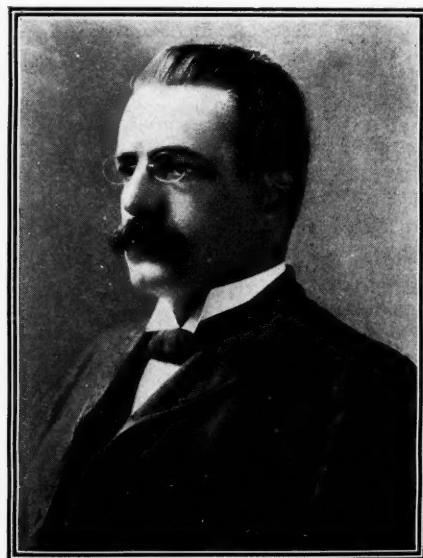
PRESIDENT MILBURN, OF THE BUFFALO EXPOSITION.

(President McKinley was a guest at Mr. Milburn's house.)

whatever quarter of the world they might arise, of a growing nation that must rise to its opportunities as to its duties, had fallen upon fertile soil. So far as his individual outlook was concerned, he felt a new confidence. He had only entered upon his second term. He had a united people behind him. He had voluntarily thrust aside once for all the temptation to stand for a third term. He had so cleared the way that during the three and a half years of the Presidency which remained to him he could enter upon new efforts to promote the prosperity and add to the strength of his country without subjecting himself to the slightest suspicion of self-seeking. At last, as he often remarked to his friends, he was to be President as he wanted to be. He had now no need of fearing foe or of rewarding friends. He was independent, unrestrained, free-handed. Already he was laying plans for the future. This visit to the Pan-

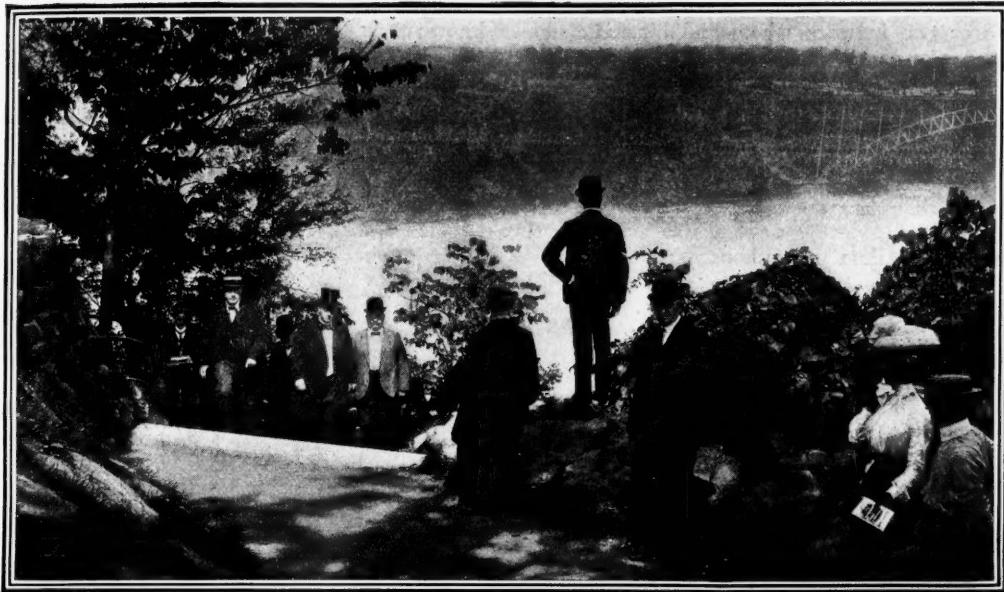
American Exposition at Buffalo he had decided to mark as something more than a holiday, something more than an agreeable season of mingling with the people.

President McKinley and his party were received at Buffalo with ample demonstration of popular affection. But he lost no time in speaking the words which he had come to speak, the words which were to point the way to his future policies. It was characteristic of Mr. McKinley to seize this opportunity. It had ever been a favorite method of his to test public opinion as to any new departure before entering practically upon it. He trusted the people, and believed they had a right to know in advance the intentions of their leaders. It was a part of his creed that without popular approval our statesmen can do nothing; with it, they can do almost anything. So he delivered his now famous Buffalo speech. It was heard around the world. It roused the nations as it roused our own people. Throughout Christendom one expression of his caught the imaginations of men—"God and man have linked the nations together. No nation can longer be indifferent to any other." This gospel of commercial amity and of peaceful rivalry, this recog-



MR. GEORGE B. CORTELYOU.
(Secretary to the President.)

nition of the golden rule in the relations of nations, coming from the lips of William McKinley, the former apostle of protection, naturally startled the many who did not know how rapidly and how splendidly his philosophy had broad-



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PRESIDENT M'KINLEY AND A PARTY OF FRIENDS AT GOAT ISLAND, NIAGARA FALLS, ON THE MORNING OF THE DAY WHEN THE PRESIDENT WAS SHOT.

ened. But it was no surprise to those who had watched the development of this masterful opportunist, this leader who had shown his power to lift up others in the way he lifted himself. It was no revelation to those who knew that his greatest pride was felt in the unification of his own people, and that now his fondest ambition was to apply the same spirit to world relations, primarily for the good of America, ultimately for the good of all nations.

In view of what happened a few hours later, with its lamentable sequel, the intimate friends of the President look upon that Buffalo address as the farewell of William McKinley. They say it reads like a benediction. They do not pretend that its author had any premonition of his coming fate; on the contrary, they are sure he was full of hope, of confidence, of determination to go on with his great work—that he never for a moment doubted that he should be able during the next three years to secure great results. But some inspiration must have guided him, they think, to make his final utterances an appeal for the universal brotherhood of man, for an end of ungenerous rivalries, an end of wars and strife. How deeply concerned the fated President was for the success of his new world policy of amity and peace may be judged by an incident of a few days later, highly pathetic in light of events. After the wounded President

had to some extent recovered his strength, he asked the surgeons for the morning newspapers.

"It's a little too early for that, Mr. President," said Dr. Mann.

"Oh, I didn't want to read what the papers print about this affair," replied the patient; "I wanted to see how the world is taking my speech."

But the fates were contrary; the end came, the eyes closed in the long sightlessness, and President McKinley never knew how his farewell words stirred and cheered the world.

The day after the delivery of his speech, or Friday, September 6—a dark day in the American calendar—President McKinley visited Niagara Falls. He was accompanied by Mrs. McKinley and the members of the cabinet. Those who were with the President on this occasion say they had never seen him in happier mood. His sun was shining brightly that day. He was at peace with himself and with all the world. The following week he was planning to spend with his old friend, Senator Hanna, at Cleveland. To this visit he was looking forward with fondest anticipation. It is certainly a pleasant thing to know that on this day the President was yearning to be among his oldest and earliest friends. At Mr. Hanna's house he was to meet and sup with a number who had seen little of him in these later, strenuous days. Best of all,

one or two between whom and himself a small cloud of misunderstanding had arisen were now to take his hand again. The clouds were to be rolled away. There was to be complete reconciliation. Thoughts of these things were uppermost in his mind this day ; he often spoke of them. His sweet nature was never sweeter than in these last hours of health and strength. His tenderness toward his wife was never better shown than during this holiday excursion. He was not content to view any of the beautiful scenery unless she were by his side. While on the inclined railway, going down into Niagara Gorge, Mr. McKinley turned every moment, with an anxious look upon his face, to learn if Mrs. McKinley was inconvenienced by the novel and somewhat startling descent. When assured that instead of being frightened she was greatly enjoying it, his eyes lighted with satisfaction, and then for the first time did he permit himself to gaze uninterruptedly at the beauties of nature all about him.

This sixth day of September the President was almost as light-hearted as a boy. As man, as husband, as head of the state, as leader of his people, he was more than content. He felt the thrill of his success, of his opportunities, of his power for good. He may not have been conscious of the fact, but at this moment he was without doubt the best-beloved man in all the world. The millions who looked up to him with affection and trust vastly exceeded in number and excelled in devotion the millions who looked up to any other living man. His power for good without doubt surpassed that of any of his contemporaries in the leadership of thought and action among the nations. Yet at this moment there was lurking upon the Exposition grounds at Buffalo a human viper planning to strike down this lofty spirit, to destroy this superb man. Of all the thousands of people upon those grounds, this one was perhaps the most insignificant in physical and mental equipment, in character, in capacity—a mere worm crawling in the dust. Yet he had in his perverted heart the venomous purpose, held in his hand the tiny instrument, which were to set the world a-weeping.

The special train from Niagara Falls arrived at the Exposition grounds about 3:30 o'clock. Mrs. McKinley was sent away in a carriage to the house of Mr. Milburn, president of the Exposition, where the President and his wife were guests. Then the President, accompanied by Mr. Milburn, Secretary Cortelyou, and others, drove to the Temple of Music, where it had been arranged the President was to hold a public reception. Twenty thousand people were gathered in front of the building, and as they saw the well-

known face they set up a mighty shout of welcome. The President bowed to right and left and smiled. Then the great organ in the Temple pealed forth the national air, and the throngs fell back from the entrance, that the President might pass. Inside the building, a space had been cleared for the Presidential party ; the people were permitted to enter one door, pass by the President, and emerge at the opposite side of the auditorium. Usually a secret-service agent is stationed by the President's side when he receives the public, but on this occasion President Milburn stood at the President's left. Secretary Cortelyou was at his right, and a little to the rear. Opposite the President was Secret Service Officer Ireland. Eight or ten feet away was Officer Foster. When all was ready, the line of people was permitted to move, each one pausing to shake the hand of the President. He beamed upon them all in his courtly way. When one stranger timidly permitted himself to be pushed along without a greeting, the President called out, smilingly, "Hold on, there ; give me your hand." Mr. McKinley would never permit any one to go past him without a handshake. He was particularly gracious to the children and to timid women. Here, as we have often seen him in Washington and elsewhere, he patted little girls or boys on the head or cheek and smiled at them in his sweet way. A woman and a little girl had just passed, and were looking back at the President, proud of the gracious manner in which he had greeted them. Next came a tall, powerful negro—Parker. After Parker, a slight, boyish figure, a face bearing marks of foreign descent, a smooth, youthful face, with nothing sinister to be detected in it. No one had suspected this innocent-looking boy of a murderous purpose. He had his right hand bound up in a handkerchief, and this had been noticed by both of the secret-service men as well as by others. But the appearance in a reception line of men with wounded and bandaged hands is not uncommon. In fact, one had already passed along the line. Many men carried handkerchiefs in their hands, for the day was warm.

So this youth approached. He was met with a smile. The President held out his hand ; but it was not grasped. Supporting his bandaged right hand with his left, the assassin fired two bullets at the President. The first passed through the stomach and lodged in the back. The second, it is believed, struck a button on the President's waistcoat and glanced therefrom, making an abrasion upon the sternum. The interval between the two shots was so short as to be scarcely measurable. As the second shot rang out, Detective Foster sprang forward and intercepted the hand

of the assassin, who was endeavoring to fire a third bullet into his victim. The President did not fall. He was at once supported by Mr. Milburn, by Detective Geary, and by Secretary Cortelyou. Before turning, he raised himself on tiptoe and cast upon the miserable wretch before him, who was at that moment in the clutches of a number of men, a look which none who saw it can ever forget. It appeared to say, "You miserable, why should you shoot me? What have I done to you?" It was the indignation of a gentleman, of a great soul, when attacked by a ruffian. A few drops of blood spurted out and fell on the President's waistcoat. At once the wounded man was led to a chair, into which he sank. His collar was removed and his shirt opened at the front. Those about him fanned him with their hats. Secretary Cortelyou bent over his chief, and Mr. McKinley whispered, "Cortelyou, be careful. Tell Mrs. McKinley gently."

A struggle ensued immediately between the assassin and those about him. Detective Foster not only intercepted the arm of the murderer, and prevented the firing of a third shot from the revolver concealed in the handkerchief, but he planted a blow square upon the assassin's face. Even after he fell, Czolgosz endeavored

to twist about and fire again at the President. Mr. Foster threw himself upon the wretch. Parker, the colored man, struck him almost at the same instant that Foster did. Indeed, a half-dozen men were trying to beat and strike the murderer, and they were so thick about him that they struck one another in their excitement. A private of the artillery corps at one moment had a bayonet-sword at the neck of Czolgosz, and would have driven it home had not Detective Ireland held his arm and begged him not to shed blood there before the President. Just then the President raised his eyes, saw what was going on, and with a slight motion of his right hand toward his assailant, exclaimed :

"Let no one hurt him."

While the guards were driving the people out of the building, Secretary Cortelyou asked the President if he felt any pain. Mr. McKinley slipped his hand through his shirt-front and pressed his fingers against his breast. "I feel a sharp pain here," he said. On withdrawing his hand he saw that the ends of his fingers were red with blood. The President closed his lips tightly, but made no outcry. His head sank back upon the arm of his faithful secretary; he appeared drowsy. At this moment Ambassador Aspiroz, of Mexico, forced his way to the wounded man's



THE MILBURN RESIDENCE AT BUFFALO, WHERE PRESIDENT M'KINLEY DIED.



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DR. ROSWELL PARK.

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DR. M. D. MANN.

DR. EUGENE WASDIN.

(Physicians in charge of the wounded President.)

side, and in his excitement cried: "Oh, God, my President, are you shot?" The President roused himself and smiled sadly into the face of the ambassador. "Yes, I believe I am," he replied, faintly. His head sank back again, but only for a moment. Suddenly straightening up in his chair, he gripped its arms tightly and thrust his feet straight out before him with a quick, nervous movement. Thus he sat till the ambulance arrived.

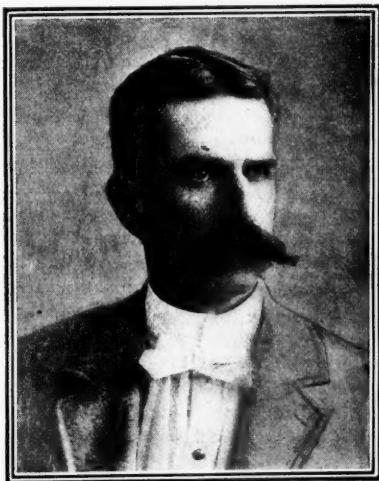
The assassin was quickly taken away by the police and the detectives. By a ruse and quick work, they managed to place him in a cell before the maddened people could rend him in pieces. Mr. McKinley was placed on a stretcher and carried out to the ambulance. When the people saw their President on this bed of pain they wept and sobbed. A deep groan, a wave of pity, grief, horror, anger, swept through the throng. The automobile ambulance quickly carried the wounded President to the Exposition hospital. On the way thither he reached inside his waistcoat, as if feeling for something, found it, and remarked to Detective Foster: "That feels like a bullet. Is it a bullet?" Mr. Foster placed his fingers upon the spot and replied: "It is a bullet, Mr. President." "Well," said the wounded man, "it is only one." When the President's clothing was removed at the hospital this bullet dropped to the floor. Mr. Foster picked it up, and now has it in his possession, a grim reminder of the tragedy.

On the way to the hospital, Mr. McKinley whispered to Secretary Cortelyou: "Be careful

of the doctors. I leave all that to you." The wounded President must have had in mind the professional unpleasantness connected with the Garfield case. He was an intimate friend of Garfield and of Mrs. Garfield. From the lips of the latter he had often heard the sad story of those long, hard weeks in 1881, when the master of the White House lay dying without faith in the treatment which was given him, convinced he was going to die, feeling helpless and fated. Arriving at the hospital, Secretary Cortelyou soon had opportunity to assume the grave responsibility which circumstances and the words of his chief had thrust upon him. It was at 4:12 o'clock that the assassin fired his shots. At 4:35 the President lay upon the operating-table; his clothing had been removed; morphine had been administered hypodermically, relieving nerve strain. All was in readiness for an operation; but who should perform it? Into what hands should this precious life be committed? It was a crucial moment for Secretary Cortelyou. Many surgeons had been telephoned for. Others who chanced to be upon the Exposition grounds at the moment volunteered their services. "You know all these men," said Mr. Cortelyou to President Milburn; "when the right one arrives, tell me." Dr. Herman Mynter was the first to arrive, bringing with him Dr. Eugene Wasdin, of the marine hospital service. Dr. Mynter said an immediate operation was necessary. A few minutes after 5, Dr. Matthew D. Mann, professor of obstetrics and gynecology in the medical department of the University of Buffalo,

reached the hospital. Mr. Milburn whispered to Secretary Cortelyou, "That's the man for the operation."

The question then arose whether the operation should be performed immediately, or whether it



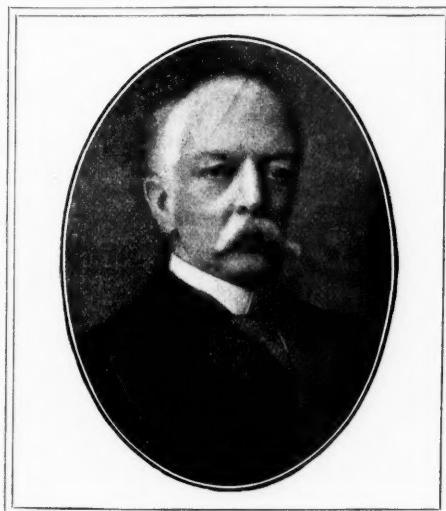
DR. P. M. RIXEY.
(Mr. McKinley's family physician.)

should await the coming of Dr. Roswell Park, president of the American Society of Surgeons and medical director of the Pan-American Exposition. Dr. Park was at Niagara Falls. When

the telegram reached him he was performing an operation. With the knife in his hand, he turned to his assistant and said : "I can finish this alone. Now go and arrange a special train for Buffalo." Two hours must elapse before he could reach the Exposition hospital, and all who stood about the operating-table on which lay the head of the nation turned their eyes upon Mr. Cortelyou. He consulted with Melville Hanna, a brother of Senator Hanna, a student of surgery and himself the subject of three operations ; John N. Scatcherd, vice-president of the Buffalo Exposition, and one or two others. These gentlemen told Mr. Cortelyou to go ahead ; they would share with him the responsibility. Mr. Cortelyou then whispered to the President, and, turning to Dr. Mann, instructed him to begin the operation.

At 5:20 o'clock, one hour and ten minutes after the wound was inflicted, Dr. Wasdin began administering the ether. In ten minutes the President was well under its influence. Dr. Mann then made an incision five inches long perpendicular to the body, through the bullet wound, which was four inches below the left nipple and an inch and a half to the left of the median line. It was found that the ball—of .32 caliber—had passed through both walls of the stomach. One of the physicians present at the operation furnished the following technical data to the New York *Medical Journal*:

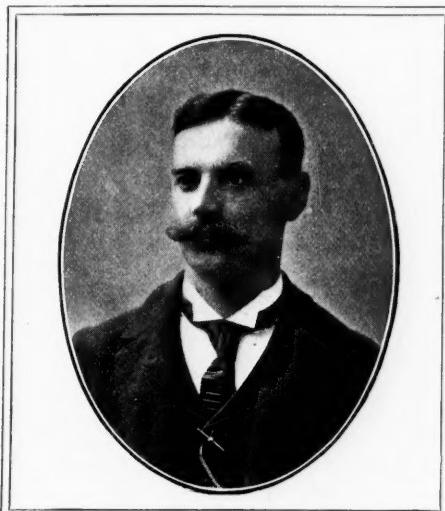
A piece of cloth, probably a bit of undershirt, was found in the track of the missile; it looked as if it had been "punched out" by the ball. Upon opening the



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DR. CHARLES M'BURNEY.

(Physicians in charge of the wounded President.)



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DR. HERMAN MYNTER.

peritoneum, a bullet-hole was discovered in the anterior central portion of the stomach. This viscus was drawn up into the operation wound, and the perforation, after examination, was closed with a double row of silk sutures. A little oozing of the stomach-contents had occurred through the opening, all of which was wiped away. On examination of the dorsum of the stomach, another opening was found. This was sutured also. The intestines were examined for wounds, but none were found; these were wrapped in hot moist towels. A further search for the missile failed to find it; but it became apparent that it had done no other vital damage, with the strong probability that it lost itself in the thick lumbar muscles. The abdominal cavity was flushed with normal salt solution, and the closure begun. Seven deep silk worm-gut sutures were employed, and catgut was placed superficially between them. At about 6:50 the anaesthetic was discontinued and the abdominal bandage applied. The President's pulse was now 122; respiration, 22.

Dr. Park arrived before the operation was finished and joined the staff as consultant.

The wounded President was at once taken to the residence of Mr. Milburn. Dr. Rixey undertook the sad task of conveying the news to Mrs. McKinley. "The President has met with an accident—he has been hurt," were his first words. "Tell me all—keep nothing from me!" cried Mrs. McKinley; "I will be brave—yes, I will be brave for his sake!" Dr. Rixey then told her the whole story.

At once a thrill of anguish and horror ran through the world. Cablegrams of inquiry and regret from all governments poured in upon the State Department at Washington. King Edward, Emperor William, and other sovereigns sent personal messages. Vice-President Roosevelt, members of the cabinet, and friends of the President started for Buffalo by special trains. Extra editions of the newspapers were issued that evening in all American cities. The people remained up till late at night, surrounding the bulletin boards, anxious for the latest tidings. Grief was universal and profound. When the people finally went to bed that night it was with heavy hearts. They believed the President was fatally wounded.

The assassin, who first gave his name as Nieman, was quickly discovered to be Leon Czolgosz, a Pole, twenty-eight years of age, whose home had been at Cleveland, Ohio, where his parents were found to be hard-working, well-meaning people. They were horrified at the news that their son had murdered the President. The assassin made no other confession to the police than the simple statement that he was an anarchist, that he had "done his duty," and that he had been inspired by the preachments of Emma Goldman, whom he had once heard lecture. At once the police began a search for

Emma Goldman, and a few days later she was arrested in Chicago. A week afterward she was released on bail, and at this writing there does not appear to be any evidence upon which she can be tried and convicted.

For several days the newspapers were filled with rumors of anarchistic plots. A number of arrests were made in Chicago and other cities. The Government secret service and the chiefs of police threw out a drag-net, and shadowed or arrested every person who was thought likely to have had any connection whatever with a plot against the President. Many suspects were subjected to rigorous examination by the "sweat-box" process, but up to this date, so far as the public is informed, nothing of value has been elicited. Among Government officials and the detectives who have been working on the case there is a strong belief that the assassin had no accomplices; that he was a youthful and zealous recruit in the anarchistic ranks; that his head had been turned by the rhetorical vaporings of the anarchistic speakers and writers, and that he set out, alone, secretly and unaided, to do a deed that would make him infamously famous. The police authorities in Buffalo did their part to induce the assassin to confess. They alternately wheedled and abused him; they set traps for him, they treated him with great severity; but not one word could they draw from the stubborn wretch. September 17, Czolgosz was arraigned in court at Buffalo. Two well-known lawyers, Judges Titus and Lewis, were assigned by the court to defend the accused, and they reluctantly accepted the task as a matter of duty. One of these counsel interviewed the prisoner in his cell, but was compelled to announce to the court that he could get no information whatever from his client. The trial was set for an early day, and it is probable that within two months from the day of the crime the assassin will have been convicted and electrocuted. There appears to be no doubt of his sanity.

There speedily arose throughout the country a great outcry against anarchism. Former Attorney-General Miller suggested that Congress enact a law declaring any attempt upon the life of a President to be treason; but it is agreed that such a law would have to be preceded by an amendment of the Constitution. During the days when the President's recovery seemed probable, the country was ill-content with the prospect that the criminal could be punished only by imprisonment for ten years, that to be computed to seven years for good behavior. Seven years for shooting down the gentle, noble President! It was at once suggested by Attorney-General Knox that the criminal might be tried on three counts, as

had been done in the case of the man who attempted to kill Mr. Henry C. Frick in Pittsburg ; for it was learned that Czolgosz had followed the President to Niagara Falls, intending to shoot him there, and had also tried to get near to the President on the Exposition grounds the day before. Much discussion was started throughout the country as to the best means of dealing with anarchy and punishing conspirators ; and it is understood that a new law, to be framed by ex-Attorney-General Griggs and present Attorney-General Knox, is likely to be enacted by Congress next winter. In many places men were roughly treated for uttering disparaging remarks about the President, and in Iowa, it was reported, a secret society had been formed to fight fire with fire—to assassinate anarchistic assassins.

All day Saturday, September 7, great anxiety and excitement prevailed throughout the world. By nightfall the bulletins had become more encouraging. There was ground for hope that the President might recover. Mrs. McKinley was permitted to see her husband, and their interview was of a cheerful nature, considering the circumstances. The President tried to encourage her ; she bore herself well, that he might not be distressed on her account. Meanwhile, a large number of the President's relatives had arrived in Buffalo, as well as the Vice-President, members of the cabinet, and other distinguished men. The Milburn house had in an instant become the center of the nation's hopes and fears. Newspaper and telegraph headquarters were established across the street, and the long vigil was begun. This day, Senator Hanna and other friends of the President concluded to send for Dr. Charles McBurney, of New York. Before doing so they consulted the physicians and surgeons already engaged in the case, and these unanimously and heartily urged that Dr. McBurney be summoned at once.

Sunday the reports became more and more encouraging. Dr. McBurney arrived, and after a thorough examination of the patient joined the other physicians in an official bulletin of reassuring character. The New York surgeon's

judgment had been anxiously awaited, on account of his great reputation ; and when he privately told members of the family, cabinet officers, and intimate friends who had a right to the truth that the President was almost sure to recover, there was great rejoicing. This verdict, telegraphed throughout the world, brought relief to many millions of heavy hearts. Dr. McBurney warmly praised the treatment of the case up to the hour of his arrival. He said the operation had been perfectly performed, and that the promptness with which it had been undertaken had doubtless saved the life of Mr. McKinley. Comment was made by him and by others upon the fortunate circumstance that the shooting took place at the Exposition, where an ambulance was within call, and where within a few minutes' journey stood a complete hospital, with every appliance known to modern surgery. When asked if the President's age were not against him, and if there were any known cases of recovery from such wounds when the patient had passed his fiftieth year, Dr. McBurney explained that in vitality, in resisting power, in preservation of the tissues from disintegration, Mr. McKinley had led so good and careful a life that he was the equal of the average man of forty-five years of age. This Sunday was a day of prayer for the wounded President throughout the country, and when these cheerful



SECRETARY CORTELYOU GIVING OUT BULLETINS TO REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PRESS IN FRONT OF THE MILBURN HOUSE.

tidings were published in the newspapers next morning it did seem as if the prayers had been answered and that the President would get well.

Monday, the news was still better. Secretary Cortelyou issued a statement declaring that nothing was being withheld from the public; that the people had a right to the truth, and should have it. This naturally helped to restore public confidence. Announcement was made that the surgeons had decided not to use the X-ray apparatus sent them, at their request, by Thomas A. Edison, and that for the present, at least, no efforts were to be made to locate the missing bullet. The doctors and friends of the President began to talk of taking him back to the White House by the 1st of October. The patient's two sisters, convinced that their brother was on the way to recovery, returned to their home in Ohio. Senator Hanna left for Cleveland. Vice-President Roosevelt, assured by the surgeons that the crisis was passed and the danger now at a minimum, started for the Adirondacks. Secretary Gage and Attorney-General Knox went to Washington. This day the President asked for the newspapers, and Senator Hanna smilingly predicted that he would soon ask for a cigar.

On Tuesday, the President was declared convalescent. For the first time since the shooting, nourishment was given him through the mouth. He was permitted to turn himself in bed and to lie upon his side. The danger of blood-poisoning was said to be over; if it were to appear at all, it would have shown itself ere this. In the evening, some disquiet was caused by the news that the surgeons had found it advisable to reopen the operation wound to remove a bit of foreign material—a fragment of the President's coat—which the bullet had carried a short distance beneath the skin, and which had caused slight irritation. There was reassurance when the official bulletin announced that "this incident cannot give rise to other complications, but it is communicated to the public, as the surgeons in attendance wish to make their bulletins entirely frank." The members of the cabinet were this day promised that on Friday they should be permitted to see and talk with their chief. Twice a day Mrs. McKinley was allowed to enter her husband's chamber for a short time, but a like privilege was extended to no one else save the surgeons and the nurses.

By Wednesday, the whole country was convinced that the President was recovering. Optimism and confidence gave way to the most gloomy forebodings. The last bulletin of the day was the best yet issued. Decided benefit was declared to have followed the dressing of the wound the

night before. The President was able to digest liquid food, and the quantity given him was gradually increased. Microscopic count of the number of red and white corpuscles in a drop of blood taken from the patient's ear indicated no signs of blood-poisoning. The President confirmed Senator Hanna's prediction and asked for a cigar. He was in a cheerful mood, and had no doubt that he should recover. Secretary Hay and Postmaster-General Smith returned to Washington.

Thursday morning, the President was given a little solid food; he relished it, and it appeared to do him good. "He feels better than at any time before," said the forenoon bulletin. Dr. McBurney left for New York, convinced that it would not be necessary for him to return. But the unfavorable turn which a few had feared came at last. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon the President was not so well. By 8:30 in the evening he was decidedly worse. The solid food had not agreed with him, said the bulletin. Excretion had not been established, and the pulse was unsatisfactory. Cathartics were administered. Then the heart began to show signs of weakness, and failed to respond to stimulation. In the early hours of Friday morning the scenes about the Milburn house were almost dramatic. Lights burned in all the windows. Carriages and automobiles rushed up at frantic pace every few moments, bringing doctors and members of the family. Across the street, the soldiers paced up and down; newspaper men darted to and fro; in the tents and election booths which had been put up for their use, the correspondents and telegraph operators were making the wires throb with dread tidings.

The American people, who had retired the night before full of hope and confidence, had a rude awakening Friday morning. Their newspapers were filled with big head-lines. The President was sinking. His life was despaired of. At 3 o'clock the surgeons had been compelled to admit that their patient's condition was "very serious and gives rise to the greatest apprehension." Digitalis was being administered to stimulate the heart. Even while the people read, their President might be dying.

That was a Black Friday for the people. Their hearts were sore. Many of them gave over all thought of work, and did nothing but watch the bulletin boards and buy extra newspapers. During the day, there were faint flickers of hope. At 9 o'clock in the morning the bulletin said the President was conscious, free from pain; his condition had somewhat improved; there was a better response to stimulation. At 2:30 in the afternoon, hope was a little stronger, for the

doctors said their patient had more than held his own ; they looked for further improvement. But an hour and a half later even this meager encouragement ceased. By 5:35, the surgeons could not disguise the fact that the President was dying. He was suffering extreme prostration. Oxygen was given, but it did not produce the desired effect. A little after 6 o'clock a report that the President was dead was circulated.

But it was premature. The President still lived. Most of the time he was unconscious. Occasionally he opened his eyes and tried to smile. At this time he knew he was fated ; for once, as the surgeons were administering the oxygen, he looked up and whispered : "What's the use ?" About 7 o'clock he summoned enough strength to ask for Mrs. McKinley. They led her to his bedside ; then all retired from the room. The dying husband's face lighted up as he saw his life-companion bending over him. She kissed and caressed him ; she stroked his hair ; she crooned over him like a mother over a stricken child. Each tried to be brave for the other's sake. Those who stood watch just within the adjoining room heard whispers pass between the lovers ; they heard sobs and cries ; then they led Mrs. McKinley away.

In this last period of consciousness, which ended about 8 o'clock, the President's lips were seen to be moving. The surgeons bent down to hear his words. He chanted the first lines of his favorite hymn, "Nearer, My God, to Thee." A little later he spoke again ; Dr. Mann wrote the words down at the bedside,—and the last conscious utterance of William McKinley was :

"Good-bye, all ; good-bye. It is God's way. His will be done."

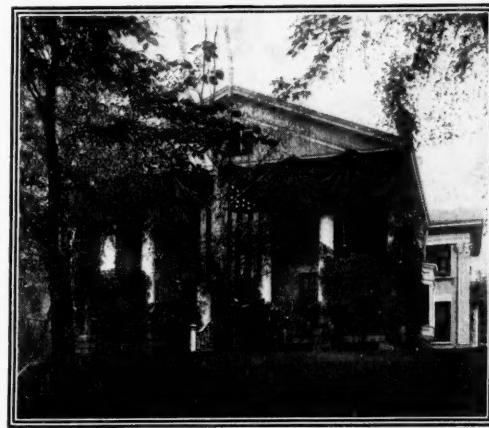
The President soon afterward lapsed into unconsciousness, and did not rally again. His heart-beats came more and more faintly. His extremities chilled. It was only a question of a little time. One by one, members of the family stood by his side, kissed his pallid brow, spoke his well-loved name, and drew away in anguish. Most of the members of the cabinet came to say farewell. Each took the moist, limp hand—the hand that had so well guided the helm of the ship of state—and held it for a moment in a parting clasp. Senator Hanna, ashen-faced, limped to the bedside of his great friend, and called, "Mr. President ! Mr. President !" Hearing no response, he cried, in choking tones, "William ! William !" But it was in vain.

Thus the hours passed. The President's life slowly slipped away. At times it was difficult to say if the heart were still beating. Now and then the sufferer reached out his hand as if he would grasp something ; Dr. Rixey gave him

his forefinger, and the President clutched it like a child with a toy. The end came at 2:15 a.m., Saturday, September 14. In all his hours of suffering, no word of petulance or complaint escaped his lips. His sweet nature showed itself sweeter than ever in the last hours. He met his fate bravely, forgiving his murderer, resigned, at peace with his God and himself.

Grief overwhelmed the nation. The people never lost one whom they had loved better.

Theodore Roosevelt, now the constitutional President, was at a hunting camp in the Adirondacks when the tidings reached him. He at once started for Buffalo by special train, arriving there before 2 o'clock in the afternoon. But he did not take the oath of office *en route*, and once in Buffalo, he dismissed the escort of cavalry and mounted police which had met him at the station and drove straight to the Milburn house. It was as a private citizen that he called to pay homage to the remains of the dead President and to offer his condolence to the representatives of the widow and the family. This done, he went to the house of his friend and host, Ansley Wilcox ; and there, in the presence of the members of the cabinet, a few friends, and a score or more of newspaper men, he prepared to qualify as the head of the state. Beautifully simple as was the ceremony, it was



THE BUFFALO RESIDENCE OF ANSLEY G. WILCOX, WHERE PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TOOK THE OATH OF OFFICE.

nevertheless exceedingly impressive. Requested by Secretary of War Root, speaking for the cabinet, to take the oath, he replied :

"I am ready to take the oath. And I wish to say that it shall be my aim to continue, absolutely unbroken, the policies of President McKinley for the peace, the prosperity, and the honor of our beloved country."

Mr. Roosevelt's voice was choked with emotion when he began to speak. Then he recovered his self-possession. The vista of toil and responsibility opening before him appeared to rouse his energies and his courage ; for now his tones rang out clear and strong, and there was the emphasis of deep sincerity and great purposefulness in the way he spoke the closing words.

"Theodore Roosevelt," exclaimed District Judge Hazel, "hold up your right hand."

Mr. Roosevelt's right hand shot up into the air with nervous energy. He held it there without a tremor, his left hand clutching the lapel of his coat. Erect, self-possessed, vigor and alertness showing in every line of his figure, and nothing but the blinking of fine eyes behind his thick glasses telling of the emotions that stirred within him, he repeated after Judge Hazel, in clear, firm tones, the memorable words :

"I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. And thus I swear."

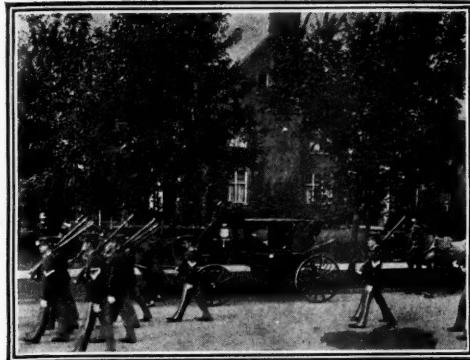
As simple as this was the coronation of this

new leader of the mightiest of nations. No pomp, no blare of trumpet or roll of drum, no robes or music, no march of armed men or thunder of cannon. Only a few men, hats in hand, standing in the parlor of an American gentleman's modest home ; servants peering in from the hall ; outside, two or three policemen ; a crowd of silent men and women across the street needing no restraint. It was all over in a few moments ; and yet in these few moments this young man, not yet forty-three years old, had taken within his hand a greater power and upon his shoulders a greater burden than any king or emperor or czar knows.

A mile away lay the dead President. Here stood the living. And thus was the supreme executive power in the republic transferred from the one to the other. William McKinley's eloquent lips were closed in the eternal silence ; but Theodore Roosevelt had just spoken words which gave hope and confidence to the nation and to the world. The effect of his announcement that it was his aim to continue the policies of his predecessor reassured foreign powers, brought a feeling of security to the financial and business



CARRYING THE CASKET INTO THE BUFFALO CITY HALL.



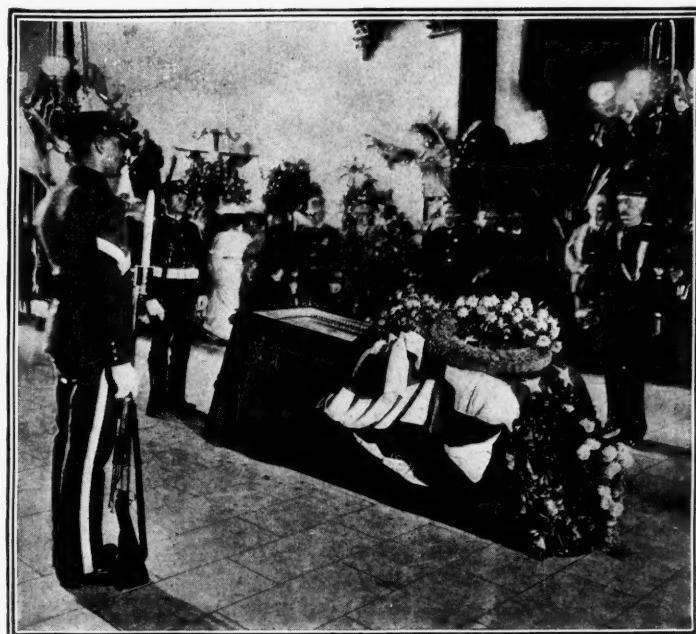
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S CARRIAGE FOLLOWING THE
HEARSE AT BUFFALO.

world, inspired and comforted the people. A new man and a young man and a strenuous man had taken the reins of government, but there was to be no experimentation. Tried and approved policies were to be continued absolutely unbroken. The response to this declaration was swift and hearty. Press and people applauded; and before he had reached the national capital President Roosevelt had the world's verdict upon his fitness and his prudence in higher values upon the exchanges on both sides of the Atlantic.

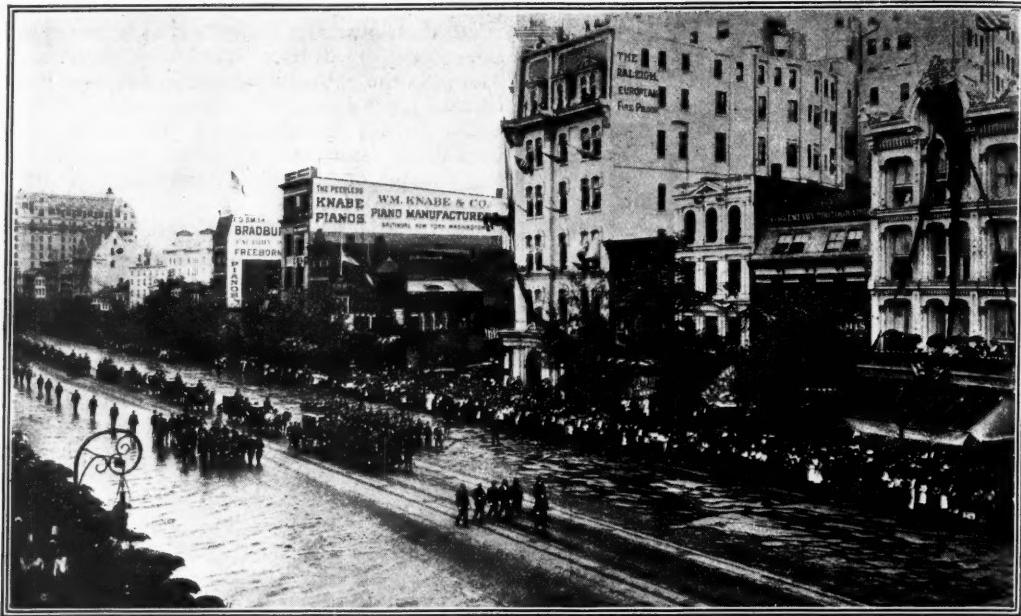
Within forty-eight hours after taking the oath of office, President Roosevelt had laid the foundations of a successful administration. Before reaching Washington he had invited all the members of the McKinley cabinet to remain at their posts, not simply for the time being, but indefinitely, as if he had been elected President and had chosen them to be his counselors. All have accepted. In this way the new President has not only paid his martyred predecessor the highest possible tribute in announcing to the world that the McKinley policies are to be his policies, and that the McKinley men are to be his men—that what Mr. McKinley built is to stand as a monument to his wisdom—but in four days he has attached to himself all the strength and ability which Mr. McKinley had been four years in gathering about him. Almost poetic, as well as prac-

tically promising, is the pledge of the new President to regard the Buffalo speech as expressive of the creed of Mr. McKinley, which is to live on in the new administration and bear good fruits.

The day Mr. Roosevelt took the oath of office in Buffalo the surgeons held an autopsy upon the remains of Mr. McKinley. Death had resulted from gangrene affecting the stomach around the bullet wounds, as well as the tissues around the farther course of the ball. There was no evidence that nature had made any progress with the work of repair. Death was unavoidable by any surgical or medical treatment. Consensus of opinion among surgeons suggests the conclusion of the practitioners engaged in the case and in the autopsy report (1) that the President never had the slightest chance to recover, and (2) that the surgical steps taken immediately after the shooting were such as might have saved his life under favorable conditions. But in order to have these favorable conditions, the wound must be in the body of a man of youthful vigor and of such strenuous vitality that nature may enter at once upon the work of reconstruction and healing. Some professional controversy has naturally been started in the press, but the family and intimate friends of the late President, and most of the eminent physicians and surgeons who have expressed an opinion, are thoroughly satisfied that



THE CASKET LYING IN STATE AT THE BUFFALO CITY HALL.

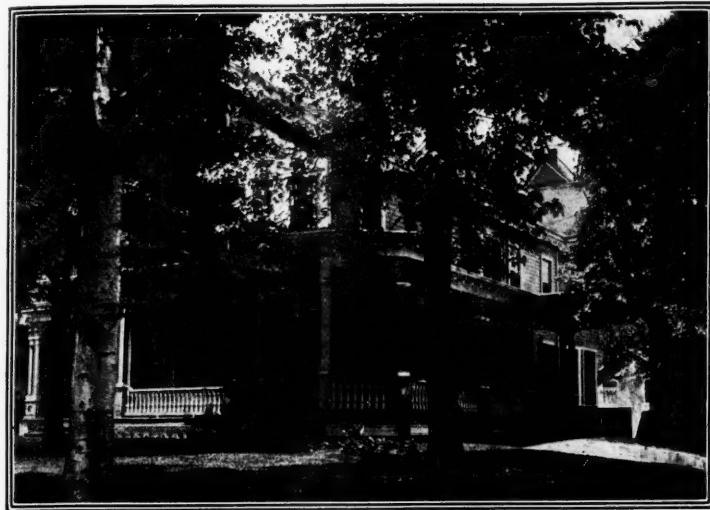


THE HEARSE AND THE GUARD OF HONOR, COMPOSED OF OFFICERS OF THE ARMY AND NAVY, IN WASHINGTON.



From the N. Y. Tribune.

CROWDS GREETING THE FUNERAL TRAIN ON ITS WAY TO CANTON.



THE M'KINLEY RESIDENCE AT CANTON.

there was no fault in the treatment, and that all that science could do to save the precious life was done. Nor was it possible, it appears in the sequel, for the surgeons to know that nature was not engaged in the work of repair and that gangrene was slowly sapping the patient's strength and sending poison to the heart. They could know of this condition only by the manifestations which it was sure to produce; and these did not appear till Thursday, or the sixth day after the operation. The only reasonable criticism so far passed upon the surgeons is that the continued high pulse of their patient should have led them to exercise greater caution in their bulletins.

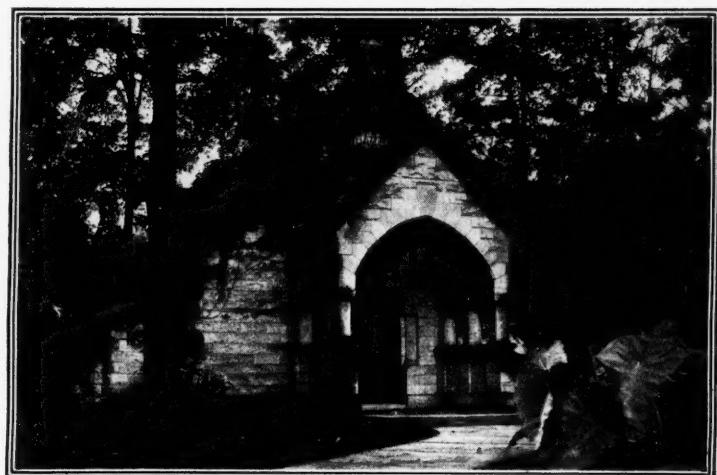
All day Sunday the remains of the President lay in state in the city hall at Buffalo, after simple and beautiful services at the Milburn house. Monday morning a special train bore the body to Washington, and all along the way there was a pathetic demonstration of the sorrow of the people. Bells were tolled, hymns sung by choral societies, flowers strewn upon the track. For four hundred and fifty miles the train ran between two parallel lines of citizens standing with bared heads. Not a few of them were in tears. The schools

were dismissed, and the pupils stood by the side of the track with flowers or tiny furled flags in their hands.

At the national capital the remains of President McKinley slept for the night in the White House, scene of his labors and his triumphs. Mrs. McKinley occupied her old room, full of bitter-sweet associations. President Roosevelt went to the house of his sister. Next day a solemn procession swept up historic Pennsylvania Avenue, and impressive funeral services were held in the rotunda of the Capitol. The catafalque which bore the body of President McKinley had carried also the remains of President Lincoln and

President Garfield. President Roosevelt and all the officials of the Government, army and navy officers, Supreme Court judges, many Senators and Representatives, and members of the diplomatic corps attended the obsequies. The only living ex-President, Mr. Cleveland, was present.

Tuesday night a special train bore the funeral cortège to Canton, and the next day the remains of the President lay in state among his neighbors and townsmen. Deep was the grief, innumerable were the pathetic incidents, as the men and women who had so well known and loved the dead statesman pressed forward to look upon



THE VAULT IN WESTLAWN CEMETERY, CANTON, IN WHICH RESTS THE BODY OF PRESIDENT M'KINLEY.

his face. On Thursday, services were held in the Methodist church of which Mr. McKinley had long been a member, and that afternoon the body was deposited in the public receiving-vault at Westlawn Cemetery, near to the graves of

Mr. and Mrs. McKinley's two children. Just two weeks had elapsed since the President, in full health and happiness, and with the star of his fame shining brighter than ever before, had left Canton for his visit to Buffalo.

THE CHARACTER OF WILLIAM M'KINLEY.

BY HENRY B. F. MACFARLAND.

(President Board of Commissioners District of Columbia.)

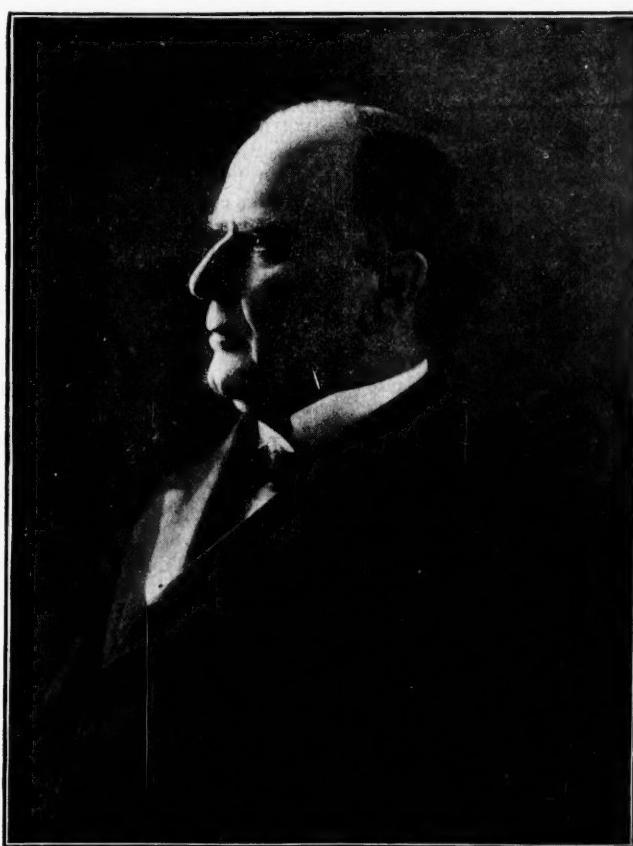
DEATH in its most dramatic form has suddenly removed President McKinley as though to a century's distance in historical perspective. But yesterday he was a man like other men; to-day, he is numbered among the immortals. One of the consolations and compensations to his friends is that he has, as in the twinkling of an eye, been placed beside Washington and Lincoln, the greatest of his predecessors. The assassin has done for him what all his friends could not do in bringing out clearly his greatness and in placing him beyond the power of enmity or accident. The arduous greatness of things done is now admitted to have been his, and the greater greatness of noble living. He has been canonized by the united love of all the people, the very thing which he in a high sense coveted most, so that in his death he realized his greatest ambition, which was to break down all sectional barriers and bring all his countrymen into sympathy. In the apparently universal chorus of praise and sorrow it seems difficult to recall the misrepresentations of the late President which have disgraced some newspapers and some public men. But it is perhaps more striking than it would otherwise be that the very newspapers and men who did these things are now joining in that chorus or keeping a respectful silence. Perhaps they feel remorse over what may have been, in some degree, incitement to his murder; perhaps they realize that moral assassination may lead to physical assassination, and is at least to be ranked with it. Perhaps their eyes have been opened to see the man as he really was, and they understand that they mistook gentleness for weakness and courtesy for artfulness. But McKinley forgave these enemies as he forgave all others who wronged him, and we need not cherish resentment against them. It is better to dwell gratefully upon the general appreciation of his virtues and graces, which testifies in itself to the soundness of the country's thought, and is echoed by all the nations of earth in their unprecedented tributes to his memory.

Now that he is gone, and in such a way that we can almost take the historian's view of him, we can see the consistency of McKinley's life through all its extraordinary experiences. He was as much a typical American as Lincoln, although born to better conditions. He came of that Scotch-Irish stock which has done so much for this country, and he had the inestimable advantage of a father and mother, who gave him a Christian home and a training and example that made him in early life a follower in their steps. It was as a true Christian that McKinley achieved his greatest success, and this is the key to all his history. He had a remarkable mind, which constantly grew in strength; he made the most of all his opportunities, and they came to him, one after another, as they did not come to other men. He rose steadily, sometimes halting, but never retreating, from the place of private in the ranks of the army of the Union until he became President of the United States and commander-in-chief of its armies and navies, its leader in the war which he tried to prevent, which he quickly ended and then turned to the best uses, and its dominant representative at the council-table of the world. He had all the kinds of success that men of ambition covet, except that of money-making, for which he had neither taste nor time. He had not only personal success, but he had official success. He showed greatness not only in domestic, but in foreign, affairs. He not only conducted the United States, as it passed from the old century into the new, into an entirely untrodden field of endeavor in the islands of the sea, but he made its greatness recognized by the nations of Europe and the peoples of Asia in his management of the affair of China. He had finished this last task in the signing of the protocol in Peking the day he was shot. His work was done when the hour struck.

Yet throughout his career, so exceptional in its progressive success, as he rose, first to that rank of major which was his title ever after with his wife and closest friends, and then on the

ladder of politics up to the leadership of the House of Representatives, the governorship of his State, and the Presidency of the United States, he was more than all he did, and his best success was seen in his own character. All the world sees now in the light of his beautiful last days that the strength, the tenderness, the integrity, and the kindness of that character were remarkable. Those who have known him well, especially in late years, have felt the power of his character. They have known the absurdity of the assertions that he was pliable, and even that he could be controlled by this man or that, simply because he was not given to brag or bluster, and preferred the kind to the unkind way of dealing with men. They knew that, while he would do everything in his power to conciliate and to gratify until he came to the point where he could not properly yield further, his will-power was immovable, and he could say "No" as positively as he could say it pleasantly. No one was ever able to make him do what he did not want to do, or what he did not think it was right to do, and his was the deciding mind in the very cases where he was said to have yielded most to others. The members of his cabinet and all others who came close to him knew that, with all his courtesy and consideration for them, he was the leader and commander. It was not so easy for outsiders to see this, because he never intimated it in any way, but, on the contrary, was always desirous to give others more than their share of the credit for whatever they had a part in doing with him. He never seemed to assert himself or to advertise himself in any way.

But although it must now be apparent to everybody that President McKinley was the great man of his administrations, and that he showed exceptional intellectual and moral power in the management of the new problems of the new and larger place into which he was led, with his fellow-countrymen, by the providence of God, his most distinguishing characteristic was his loving spirit and his willingness to serve. It was a heart of love for all men, a Christian heart of love, measuring up to the ideal set forth by St. Paul in writing to the Corinthians, since it took in all men, even his enemies, that made it possible for him to



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PRESIDENT WILLIAM M'KINLEY.

treat all men as he did. Nothing is more interesting now that he is gone than to see how many men believe that each in his own case he had especial and distinguishing kindness from him. No public man, not Clay, nor Blaine, ever had so many friends, each of whom felt there was something special in his friendship. McKinley, like Lincoln, loved the common people, to whom they both belonged; but McKinley loved everybody else in some degree. It was this that made it possible for him to make friends of all kinds, regardless of political or other enmities. Even his enemies became his friends, not being able to withstand his forgiving spirit. It gave him great facility in dealing with men, and therefore in managing affairs of great or little importance. It would not have served him thus, had it not been sincere and as disinterested as human affections ever are. Nor could it have been effective if it had not been supported by the sterner virtues and great mental powers.

McKinley's greatness in its highest form was that of him who is the servant of all. In filial duty, in the devotion of the husband and the father, in the faithfulness of friendship, he showed how a man can serve. As a soldier and as a public man he showed how a patriot can serve. He literally poured out his life for others, and gave up everything to serve the republic. In the forty years of his career, from his enlistment in 1861 to his departure in 1901, he was always serving in the spirit of Him who came, not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life for many. He was a true martyr, testifying

to the law of loving sacrifice. He was human and had faults and made mistakes, but they were not serious to those who loved him, and even those who differed with him would admit that they were not intentional. Few lives have been more worthy of emulation, and there is no other man in our history of whom we can so confidently say that his greatest gift to us was an example, and that those who follow in his steps will surely enrich themselves and their country. What man of us has not already felt the uplifting influence of that example? And what greater tribute could be paid to one who has gone forward?

PRESIDENT M'KINLEY'S ADDRESS AT BUFFALO, SEPTEMBER 5, 1901.

PRESIDENT MILBURN, DIRECTOR - GENERAL BUCHANAN, COMMISSIONERS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I am glad to be again in the city of Buffalo and exchange greetings with her people, to whose generous hospitality I am not a stranger, and with whose good-will I have been repeatedly and signally honored. To-day, I have additional satisfaction in meeting and giving welcome to the foreign representatives assembled here, whose presence and participation in this exposition have contributed in so marked a degree to its interest and success. To the commissioners of the Dominion of Canada and the British colonies, the French colonies, the republics of Mexico and of Central and South America, and the commissioners of Cuba and Porto Rico, who share with us in this undertaking, we give the hand of fellowship and felicitate with them upon the triumphs of art, science, education, and manufacture which the old has bequeathed to the new century.

Expositions are the timekeepers of progress. They record the world's advancement. They stimulate the energy, enterprise, and intellect of the people, and quicken human genius. They go into the home. They broaden and brighten the daily life of the people. They open mighty storehouses of information to the student. Every exposition, great or small, has helped to some onward step. Comparison of ideas is always educational, and as such instructs the brain and hand of man. Friendly rivalry follows, which is the spur to industrial improvement, the inspiration to useful invention and to high endeavor in all departments of human activity. It exacts a study of

the wants, comforts, and even the whims of the people, and recognizes the efficacy of high quality and new prices to win their favor. The quest for trade is an incentive to men of business to devise, invent, improve, and economize in the cost of production. Business life, whether among ourselves or with other people, is ever a sharp struggle for success. It will be none the less so in the future. Without competition we would be clinging to the clumsy and antiquated processes of farming and manufacture and the methods of business of long ago, and the twentieth would be no further advanced than the eighteenth century. But though commercial competitors we are, commercial enemies we must not be.

The Pan-American Exposition has done its work thoroughly, presenting in its exhibits evidences of the highest skill, and illustrating the progress of the human family in the western hemisphere. This portion of the earth has no cause for humiliation for the part it has performed in the march of civilization. It has not accomplished everything; far from it. It has simply done its best; and without vanity or boastfulness, and recognizing the manifold achievements of others, it invites the friendly rivalry of all the powers in the peaceful pursuits of trade and commerce, and will coöperate with all in advancing the highest and best interests of humanity. The wisdom and energy of all the nations are none too great for the world's work. The success of art, science, industry, and invention is an international asset, and a common glory.

After all, how near one to the other is every

part of the world! Modern inventions have brought into close relation widely separated peoples and made them better acquainted. Geographic and political divisions will continue to exist, but distances have been effaced. Swift ships and fast trains are becoming cosmopolitan. They invade fields which a few years ago were impenetrable. The world's products are exchanged as never before, and with increasing transportation facilities come increasing knowledge and larger trade. Prices are fixed with mathematical precision by supply and demand. The world's selling prices are regulated by market and crop reports. We travel greater distances in a shorter space of time and with more ease than was ever dreamed of by the fathers. Isolation is no longer possible or desirable. The same important news is read, though in different languages, the same day in all Christendom. The telegraph keeps us advised of what is occurring everywhere, and the press foreshadows, with more or less accuracy, the plans and purposes of the nations. Market prices of products and of securities are hourly known in every commercial mart, and the investments of the people extend beyond their own national boundaries into the remotest parts of the earth. Vast transactions are conducted, and international exchanges are made, by the tick of the cable. Every event of interest is immediately bulletined. The quick gathering and transmission of news, like rapid transit, are of recent origin, and are only made possible by the genius of the inventor and the courage of the investor. It took a special messenger of the Government, with every facility known at the time for rapid travel, nineteen days to go from the city of Washington to New Orleans with a message to General Jackson that the war with England had ceased and a treaty of peace had been signed. How different now!

We reached General Miles in Porto Rico by cable, and he was able, through the military telegraph, to stop his army on the firing line with the message that the United States and Spain had signed a protocol suspending hostilities. We knew almost instantly of the first shots fired at Santiago, and the subsequent surrender of the Spanish forces was known at Washington within less than an hour of its consummation. The first ship of Cervera's fleet had hardly emerged from that historic harbor when the fact was flashed to our capital, and the swift destruction that followed was announced immediately through the wonderful medium of telegraphy. So accustomed are we to safe and easy communication with distant lands that its temporary interruption, even in ordinary times, results in loss and inconvenience. We shall never forget the days of

anxious waiting and awful suspense when no information was permitted to be sent from Peking, and the diplomatic representatives of the nations in China, cut off from all communication, inside and outside of the walled capital, were surrounded by an angry and misguided mob that threatened their lives; nor the joy that thrilled the world when a single message from the Government of the United States brought, through our minister, the first news of the safety of the besieged diplomats.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century there was not a mile of steam railroad on the globe; now there are enough miles to make its circuit many times. Then there was not a line of electric telegraph; now we have a vast mileage traversing all lands and all seas. God and man have linked the nations together. No nation can longer be indifferent to any other. And as we are brought more and more in touch with each other, the less occasion is there for misunderstandings, and the stronger the disposition, when we have differences, to adjust them in the court of arbitration, which is the noblest forum for the settlement of international disputes.

My fellow-citizens: Trade statistics indicate that this country is in a state of unexampled prosperity. The figures are almost appalling. They show that we are utilizing our fields and forests and mines, and that we are furnishing profitable employment to the millions of workingmen throughout the United States, bringing comfort and happiness to their homes, and making it possible to lay by savings for old age and disability. That all the people are participating in this great prosperity is seen in every American community, and shown by the enormous and unprecedented deposits in our savings-banks. Our duty is the care and security of these deposits, and their safe investment demands the highest integrity and the best business capacity of those in charge of these depositories of the people's earnings.

We have a vast and intricate business, built up through years of toil and struggle, in which every part of the country has its stake, which will not permit of either neglect or of undue selfishness. No narrow, sordid policy will subserve it. The greatest skill and wisdom on the part of manufacturers and producers will be required to hold and increase it. Our industrial enterprises, which have grown to such great proportions, affect the homes and occupations of the people and the welfare of the country. Our capacity to produce has developed so enormously, and our products have so multiplied, that the problem of more markets requires our urgent and immediate attention. Only a broad and enlightened policy

will keep what we have. No other policy will get more. In these times of marvelous business energy and gain we ought to be looking to the future, strengthening the weak places in our industrial and commercial systems, that we may be ready for any storm or strain.

By sensible trade arrangements which will not interrupt our home production, we shall extend the outlets for our increasing surplus. A system which provides a mutual exchange of commodities is manifestly essential to the continued and healthful growth of our export trade. We must not repose in fancied security that we can forever sell everything and buy little or nothing. If such a thing were possible, it would not be best for us or for those with whom we deal. We should take from our customers such of their products as we can use without harm to our industries and labor. Reciprocity is the natural outgrowth of our wonderful industrial development under the domestic policy now firmly established. What we produce beyond our domestic consumption must have a vent abroad. The excess must be relieved through a foreign outlet, and we should sell everywhere we can and buy wherever the buying will enlarge our sales and productions, and thereby make a greater demand for home labor.

The period of exclusiveness is past. The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem. Commercial wars are unprofitable. A policy of good-will and friendly trade relations will prevent reprisals. Reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times; measures of retaliation are not.

If perchance some of our tariffs are no longer needed for revenue or to encourage and protect our industries at home, why should they not be employed to extend and promote our markets abroad? Then, too, we have inadequate steamship service. New lines of steamers have already been put in commission between the Pacific coast ports of the United States and those on the western coasts of Mexico and Central and South America. These should be followed up with direct steamship lines between the eastern coast of the United States and South American ports. One of the needs of the times is direct commercial lines from our vast fields of production to the fields of consumption that we have but barely touched.

Next in advantage to having the thing to sell

is to have the convenience to carry it to the buyer. We must encourage our merchant marine. We must have more ships. They must be under the American flag, built and manned and owned by Americans. These will not only be profitable in a commercial sense,—they will be messengers of peace and amity wherever they go. We must build the isthmian canal, which will unite the two oceans and give a straight line of water communication with the western coasts of Central and South America and Mexico. The construction of a Pacific cable cannot be longer postponed.

In the furtherance of these objects of national interest and concern you are performing an important part. This exposition would have touched the heart of that American statesman whose mind was ever alert and thought ever constant for a larger commerce and a truer fraternity of the republics of the New World. His broad American spirit is felt and manifested here. He needs no identification to an assemblage of Americans anywhere, for the name of Blaine is inseparably associated with the Pan-American movement which finds its practical and substantial expression, and which we all hope will be firmly advanced, by the Pan-American Congress that assembles this autumn in the capital of Mexico. The good work will go on. It cannot be stopped. These buildings will disappear, this creation of art and beauty and industry will perish from sight, but their influence will remain to

"Make it live beyond its too short living,
With praises and thanksgiving."

Who can tell the new thoughts that have been awakened, the ambitions fired, and the high achievements that will be wrought through this exposition? Gentlemen, let us ever remember that our interest is in concord, not conflict; and that our real eminence rests in the victories of peace, not those of war. We hope that all who are represented here may be moved to higher and nobler effort for their own and the world's good, and that out of this city may come, not only greater commerce and trade for us all, but, more essential than these, relations of mutual respect, confidence, and friendship which will deepen and endure.

Our earnest prayer is that God will graciously vouchsafe prosperity, happiness, and peace to all our neighbors, and like blessings to all the peoples and powers of earth.



THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT has only one fault," said a well-known New York politician less than two years ago,—"he does not know how to tell a lie." This was an expert's judgment, uttered with every assurance of settled conviction. It was as true as it was naive. Theodore Roosevelt has never learned to tell or act a lie.

The character of the twenty-sixth President of the United States,—of him who enters upon his great office, not amid paeans of victory and with the joyful acclaim of happy partisans, but bowed with the nation's woe and stricken with its grief,—is not complex; it is extremely simple. It may be summed up in a word: Theodore Roosevelt is genuine. That means that he is natural, not affected; frank, not deceptive; true, not false. All his other traits and characteristics follow naturally from his genuineness. His private life, his public activities, his modes of thought, of speech, and of action, are those of a genuine man. They are not to be understood or explained by involved processes of reasoning, or by search for hidden causes and concealed ambitions. The simplest and most natural interpretation of Theodore Roosevelt's words and deeds is always the truest.

Theodore Roosevelt is President of the United States because his fellow-citizens wished him to be President. He is not a political accident. It is no disparagement of the powers and abilities of John Tyler, of Millard Fillmore, of Andrew Johnson, or of Chester A. Arthur to say that those who named them for the Vice-Presidency never dreamed of the possibility of their succession to the post of chief magistrate of the nation. Each in time succeeded to the Presidency under the operation of the constitutional provision, and each acquitted himself in his own way—President Arthur, at least, with distinction. But Theodore Roosevelt, whose title to the Presidency rests legally upon the same basis as that of Tyler, Fillmore, Johnson, and Arthur, was chosen to the Vice-Presidency because his party and a majority of the people wanted him for the Presidency. No one who saw the currents of feeling which flowed backward and forward during the sessions of the Republican national convention at Philadelphia, in June, 1900, doubts this for an instant. In the eyes of that great representative body, there was but one figure, one personality, of dominant and immediate interest,—Theodore Roosevelt. President McKinley's name and fame were already secure.

The convention regarded him as in a class by himself, and joyfully and unanimously accorded him the renomination and indorsement that he had so richly earned. But all this was so much a matter of course that it seemed more like a matured historical judgment than an event in contemporary politics. From this viewpoint the convention and the Republican party looked toward the future, and the future seemed to them all to take its form from Theodore Roosevelt. Others were highly respected and cordially liked, others seemed better suited by temperament than he to the routine duties of the Vice-Presidential office; but a great and dignified office was to be filled, and Theodore Roosevelt, the man of the future, must fill it! His own eager preferences, the earnest wishes and hopes of his closest friends, all had to give way before the irresistible desire to put Theodore Roosevelt in the highest possible position of dignity and of honor. There can be no doubt that the happy cry of the great party leader who exclaimed, as Mr. Roosevelt finished his remarkably incisive and powerful speech in seconding President McKinley's renomination, "It will be you in 1904, just as unanimously," voiced exactly what the convention felt. Therefore, Theodore Roosevelt went into the Vice-Presidency because it was the highest office open to him at the moment, because he was wanted for President, and because at the proper time it was intended to nominate and to elect him President. So, I repeat, he is not a political accident, but succeeds, unhappily too soon and under too terrible conditions, to what was marked out for him more than a year ago. That some of his political enemies labored zealously for his nomination and were greatly pleased by it because of the opportunities it afforded them elsewhere, was provoking, but events have proved that it was unimportant.

Through Theodore Roosevelt there has been restored the spirit of the original constitutional provision, afterward modified by the twelfth amendment, by which the second choice of the electors for president became, *ipso facto*, Vice-President. In this respect, he stood in the same relation to President McKinley that John Adams stood in to President Washington. He was not nominated to satisfy or to placate, but to succeed. The unspeakably cruel and cowardly assassin has anticipated the slow and orderly processes of law.

It should not escape attention that of all the long line of illustrious Presidents, Theodore Roosevelt is the first to be born and brought up in a great city. Other Presidents have passed over to cities, and so have become more or less identified with city conditions and city life, notably Presidents Arthur, Cleveland, and Harrison; but Mr. Roosevelt is the first President to represent and to reflect in his very fiber the cosmopolitanism of the great modern city, and that city—New York. He is also the youngest man to take the constitutional oath required of the President. Mr. Roosevelt's forty-third birthday will come on the twenty-seventh day of the present month. Of all his predecessors, only three came to the Presidency before they were fifty years of age. Grant took the oath at forty-seven, Cleveland at forty-eight, and Pierce at forty-nine.

Moreover, Theodore Roosevelt was born too late to have any other than a child's or a student's memories of the war between the States. He is the first President of whom this can be said, and it means much. His great predecessor has as truly united the nation in sentiment as Lincoln kept it united in fact. Mr. Roosevelt starts with the presumption that it is united, and for him the several so-called sections of the country are merely geographical or historical, not political, terms. He has worn his country's uniform side by side with those who once fought against it. The fortunate coöperation of 1898 is for him the normal fact; the unhappy conflict of 1861–65 is history.

Mr. Roosevelt is not only city-born and city-bred, but for over two hundred years his family has been intimately connected with the commercial and the political development of New York, whose historian he himself has been. His father, whose name he bears and whose sturdy good-citizenship he justly reveres, was prominent in the city's life. What this city experience has meant for him is not as well known as it should be, but Mr. Roosevelt has himself expressed it with emphasis in the preface to his volume on New York in the "Historic Towns Series." He says :

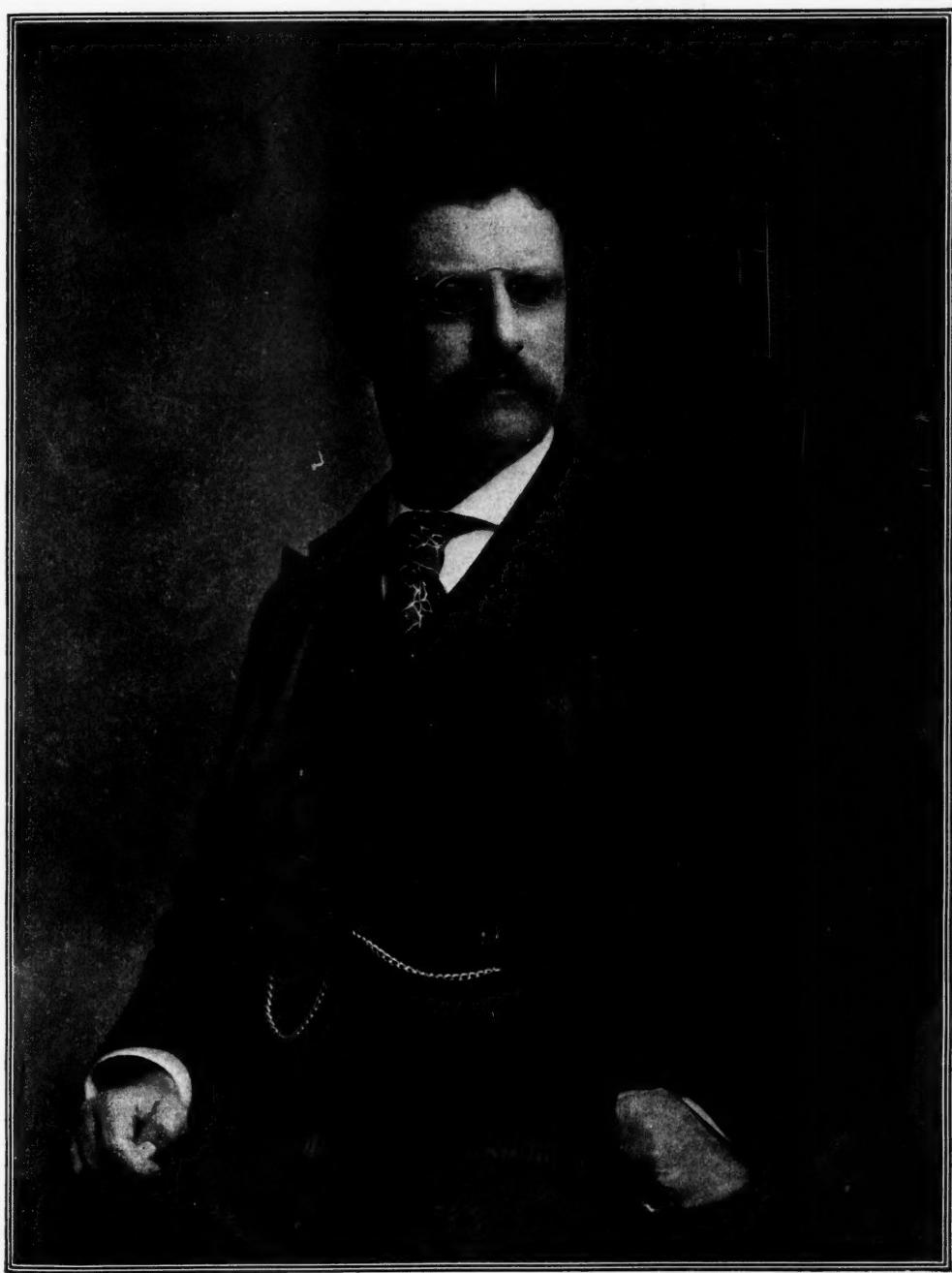
In speaking to my own countrymen, there is one point upon which I wish to lay especial stress; that is, the necessity for a feeling of broad, radical, and intense Americanism, if good work is to be done in any direction. Above all, the one essential for success in any political movement which is to do lasting good, is that our citizens should act as Americans; not as Americans with a prefix and qualification,—not as Irish-Americans, German-Americans, native Americans,—but as Americans pure and simple. It is an outrage for a man to drag foreign politics into our contests, and vote as an Irishman or German or other foreigner, as

the case may be; and there is no worse citizen than the professional Irish dynamiter or German anarchist, because of his attitude toward our social and political life, not to mention his efforts to embroil us with foreign powers. But it is no less an outrage to discriminate against one who has become an American in good faith merely because of his creed or birthplace. Every man who has gone into practical politics knows well enough that if he joins good men and fights those who are evil he can pay no heed to lines of division drawn according to race and religion. . . . The most important lesson taught by the history of New York City is the lesson of Americanism,—the lesson that he among us who wishes to win honor in our life, and to play his part honestly and manfully, must be indeed an American in spirit and purpose, in heart and thought and deed.

The writer of these inspiring words, themselves a lofty political creed, is now President of the United States of America.

Mr. Roosevelt's city cosmopolitanism long since became national. Educated at Harvard University; plunging into the study of the law; serving a city district for three terms in the lower house of the State Legislature; delegate-at-large to his party's national convention at twenty-five; living an out-of-door life on a ranch on the Little Missouri; traveling, hunting, and climbing in his vacations; studying and writing works of history and books on sport, on politics, and on literature; serving as civil-service commissioner at Washington, president of the police commission in New York, and returning to Washington as Assistant Secretary of the Navy; volunteering for service in the Spanish War, and serving brilliantly; taking up the arduous and responsible duties of the governorship of the great commonwealth of New York for two years, and finding time while discharging them well to write a critical interpretation of Cromwell's career and a history of his regiment organized for the Spanish War; and finally presiding for a few days over the Senate of the United States as Vice-President—surely here is a training such as America alone can give to "one of Plutarch's men."

What other statesman or what other man of letters could have written, or would have been asked to write, sympathetic studies of two such typical but widely different Americans as bluff old Tom Benton, of Missouri, and the polished Gouverneur Morris, of New York? Theodore Roosevelt alone, of all living Americans, could penetrate to the common secret of the greatness of these contrasting types, and could reveal it. His life in New York and his college training at Harvard had brought him in touch with the characteristics and the environment of Morris, while his travels in the West, his life on the plains, and his insight into frontier standards and conditions revealed to him those of Benton.



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PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

(The President and his friends consider this his best portrait.)

Mr. Roosevelt is one of the very few scholarly politicians. There are many men who are scholars and politicians, but in Theodore Roosevelt the two are completely fused. His character is enriched but not complicated by the presence of the two elements. Each element lights up the other; as, for instance, where in his "Life of Cromwell" he is able to interpret some events in the great Protector's career with a precision which the more erudite historians have missed, and where in his political papers and addresses a helpful historical parallel or a happy quotation lends force and concreteness to his argument. He is more of the type of Jefferson, Madison, and John Quincy Adams, in this respect, than any of our later statesmen. One evening at Philadelphia, in June, 1900, when his rooms were crowded with powerful men discussing whether or not his impending nomination for the Vice-Presidency was wise, and while an immense body of cheering paraders crowded the street below, Theodore Roosevelt sat in an inner room, alone, absorbed in reading Thucydides. He was resting.

As Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, is associated forever with his policy of "Thorough," so Theodore Roosevelt has made his own the "Strenuous Life." This is almost universally misunderstood. For him, the "strenuous life" is the contradiction of a life of selfish indulgence, of unproductive dreaming and mind-wandering, and of careless neglect of personal and civic duties. The "strenuous life" of Theodore Roosevelt is not an active military life, much less a life of contention, bustle, and noise. Theodore Roosevelt is primarily a man of peace. He has long supported the cause of arbitration as the best means of settling differences between nations. He detests war, unless it be that conditions make peace for the moment dishonorable. He went to war himself against the urgent appeals of his family and of every intimate friend he had, not from love of fighting or of glory, and not from ambition, but from the sternest sense of duty. Great thinkers, great poets and artists, great men of affairs, are as much his heroes as are the world's greatest military and naval captains. It is the fact that they did, and not the particular thing which they did, that claims his attention and his admiration. For him, the philosopher Kant, who never left his native province, and whose eighty years of long life were given over wholly to abstruse thinking and to teaching the results of his thought, led a strenuous life as truly as did Cromwell, Napoleon, or Lincoln. A life which finds no expression, which contributes nothing to humanity, which aims persistently at no lofty ideal, is the life that is not strenuous, as he uses the word.

Theodore Roosevelt's activity is not impetuous. Few public men weigh courses of action more carefully than he, and few are so well equipped to weigh them quickly and accurately. A sluggish nature is not necessarily a wise one. Mr. Roosevelt's actions are prompt, firm, and decisive, not because he does not reason and weigh, but because he reasons and weighs while others are searching for something to put upon the scales. He acts often upon his instinctive feelings and judgments, but this is an unsafe course only for him whose instincts are bad. The man of clear intellectual vision and of right feeling must act quickly if he is to act effectively. Theodore Roosevelt has discovered the secret of freedom as Emerson saw it.

Freedom's secret wilt thou know?—
Counsel not with flesh and blood;
Loiter not for cloak or food;
Right thou feelst, rush to do.

It was just this sort of "impetuosity" which led to the words, to be hereafter memorable in American history, that Mr. Roosevelt spoke on taking the oath of office as President:

In this hour of deep sorrow and terrible national bereavement, I wish to state that it shall be my aim to continue absolutely unbroken the policy of President McKinley for the peace, prosperity, and honor of our beloved country.

Theodore Roosevelt believes that the world is a good world, that it is ruled by a divine Providence whose eternal purposes are just, and he relies with absolute confidence upon the results of a direct and clear appeal to the sense of right and of honor in his fellow-man. Mr. Riis has told the story of his burning words to a large body of labor-union delegates before whom Mr. Roosevelt appeared while president of the New York City police commission, in order to discuss some cases of friction that had arisen between the police and the "pickets" of a union which was on strike. Mr. Roosevelt felt that the trouble was due to the fact that neither party, the police or the pickets, fully understood the claims and the position of the others; so, as is his nature, he sent word to the labor organization that he would like to meet them and talk the matter over. The labor men, it appears, thought that they were confronted by the usual politician seeking personal advantage, and did not hesitate to threaten trouble unless their demands were acceded to by the police authorities. Mr. Roosevelt wasted no time in parley. With that terrible earnestness which his friends know so well, he said:

I asked to meet you, hoping that we might come to understand one another. Remember, please, before we

go farther, that the worst injury any one of you can do to the cause of labor is to counsel violence. It will also be worse for himself. Understand distinctly that order will be kept. The police will keep it. Now we can proceed.

What happened? Did the meeting break up in anger and disorder? Not at all. The labor men broke out into tremendous applause. An honest man had touched the nature of other honest men by his honesty. Theodore Roosevelt believes that this country can be better governed by appealing to men's virtues than by subsidizing their vices.

It is just this characteristic of his that the professional politicians and the color-blind newspaper press of the country cannot understand. This is why, in their judgment, Theodore Roosevelt has "ruined himself" periodically for twenty years. He "ruined himself" when in the

Assembly at Albany because he fought "organization" measures and was neither academic nor Pickwickian in his attitude as to political corruption. He "ruined himself" again, and this time completely, by taking a place on the Civil Service Commission at Washington and standing across the path of the powerful politicians—the men who elect and who control delegations to nominating conventions—on their hunt for patronage. Still another "ruin" awaited him. As president of the New York police commission he was so "impetuous" as to keep his oath of office and to enforce the laws,—laws agreeable and laws disagreeable, laws that he personally approved of and laws that he felt to be injudicious.

Tammany Hall has derived no small part of its sustenance from enforcing some laws and accepting bribes for the non-enforcement of others.

It had thereby accustomed the people of New York to the spectacle of an omnipotent and irresponsible legislature and constitutional convention combined, which thrived by extending protection to the adult and infant industries of vice. Mr. Roosevelt's reading of the constitution and laws disclosed the existence of no such nullifying agency. The people had made the laws in proper fashion, and could unmake them, if they chose, in similar fashion. The oath of the police commissioner was to enforce laws, not to amend or to repeal them. So they were enforced. The "ruin" which followed for Mr. Roosevelt was overwhelming and final. The timid good joined with the reckless bad in denouncing him as a tyrant and a monster. He has since been governor of the State of New York and is now President of the United States.

Every ambitious young man in America should study carefully this pathway to success through ruin, and see what it is that has really been ruined.

Mr. Roosevelt's administration as governor of New York was original in methods, lofty in standards, and almost unprecedentedly rich in results. He never made an unfit appointment, and he succeeded in inducing scores of capable and worthy men to enter the service of the State, some of them at great sacrifice. He found the State administration thoroughly political; he left it businesslike and efficient. He kept thrice over every promise that he made to the people in his canvass. He could not override the constitution and the laws, nor could he invent facts, in order to punish those charged with defrauding the State by means of the canal service; but he could and did appoint a commissioner of public works who



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MRS. THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND DAUGHTER ETHEL.

"hews to the line" in every detail of his work. He helped to frame, supported, and caused to be enacted the best and most far-reaching civil-service law in the country, and he saw to it that it was lived up to throughout the State. He faced the whole power of his party "machine" in defeating the project to put the New York City police under partisan control at Albany, and again in compelling the passage of a bill providing for the proper taxation of the franchises of the great public-service corporations. He performed wonders for the dwellers in tenements and the workers in sweat-shops. He made it possible to secure a revision of the charter of New York City, and appointed the best possible men to prepare the revision, which, with a few very unimportant changes, will take effect on January 1, 1902. In fact, it is simple justice to say that, as governor, Mr. Roosevelt so elevated and improved the whole tone of the State administration, and so effectively educated his party and public opinion generally, that future governors will find easy what was, before his incumbency of the office, almost impossible. Those two years of strict, businesslike administration of the governorship of a great State were an invaluable preparation for the Presidential office.

Theodore Roosevelt's tenderness and gentleness, his devotion to home and to family, his love of children and of animals, his delight in sports and in out-of-door games of every kind, his generous desire to help whenever a load is to be lifted, are traits which make him pre-eminently lovable. He has in high degree the subtle personal charm, known sometimes as "personal magnetism," which so largely influenced

American politics through Henry Clay, James G. Blaine, and William McKinley.

Nothing about Mr. Roosevelt is more touching than the fact, related by Mr. Riis, that shortly after the appearance of his book "How the Other Half Lives" he found on his desk in the newspaper office the card of Theodore Roosevelt, and written on it: "I have read your book and have come to help." This strong, honest, experienced, lovable man has "come to help" our great nation and his,—a nation confident in its truth and its power, humble in its great grief for him who has gone. May God guide and guard Theodore Roosevelt in his mighty office, and forever!



Theodore, Jr. Ethel. Alice. Quentin. Kermit. Archibald.

THE CHILDREN OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.



ADDRESS BY VICE-PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT AT THE MINNESOTA STATE FAIR, MINNEAPOLIS, SEPTEMBER 2, 1901.

[This address was the last important public utterance by Mr. Roosevelt before he succeeded to the Presidency. Its incisiveness, its homely and direct eloquence, and its energetic force are thoroughly characteristic of the man. Its high ethical spirit and its concrete political recommendations will attract deserved attention. Among the most important of the latter are those regarding governmental oversight and, if necessary, control of great business corporations or trusts; frankness and honesty in international intercourse as aids to "that self-respecting peace the attainment of which is and must ever be the prime aim of a self-governing people;" the Monroe Doctrine; and the Philippine Islands, where "we are not trying to subjugate a people,—we are trying to develop them and make them a law-abiding, industrious, and educated people, and, we hope, ultimately, a self-governing people." This address by Mr. Roosevelt admirably supplements the masterly speech of President McKinley at Buffalo on September 5.]

IN his admirable series of studies of twentieth-century problems, Dr. Lyman Abbott has pointed out that we are a nation of pioneers; that the first colonists to our shores were pioneers, and that pioneers selected out from among the descendants of these early pioneers, mingled with others selected afresh from the Old World, pushed westward into the wilderness, and laid the foundations for new commonwealths. They were men of hope and expectation, of enterprise and energy; for the men of dull content, or more, dull despair, had no part in the great movement into and across the New World. Our country has been populated by pioneers, and therefore it has in it more energy, more enterprise, more expansive power, than any other in the wide world.

You whom I am now addressing stand, for the most part, but one generation removed from these pioneers. You are typical Americans, for you have done the great, the characteristic, the typical, work of our American life. In making homes and carving out careers for yourselves and your children, you have built up this State; throughout our history the success of the home-maker has been but another name for the up-building of the nation. The men who with axe in the forest and pick in the mountains and plow on the prairies pushed to completion the domination of our people over the American wilderness have given the definite shape to our nation. They have shown the qualities of daring, endurance, and farsightedness, of eager desire for victory and stubborn refusal to accept defeat, which go to make up the essential manliness of the American character. Above all, they have recognized in practical form the fundamental law of success in American life—the law of worthy work, the law of high, resolute endeavor. We have but little room among our people for the

timid, the irresolute, and the idle, and it is no less true that there is scant room in the world at large for the nation with mighty thews that dares not to be great.

THE LIFE OF EFFORT.

Surely, in speaking to the sons of men who actually did the rough and hard and infinitely glorious work of making the great Northwest what it now is, I need hardly insist upon the righteousness of this doctrine. In your own vigorous lives you show by every act how scant is your patience with those who do not see in the life of effort the life supremely worth living. Sometimes we hear those who do not work spoken of with envy. Surely the willfully idle need arouse in the breast of a healthy man no emotion stronger than that of contempt—at the outside, no emotion stronger than angry contempt.

The feeling of envy would have in it an admission of inferiority on our part, to which the men who know not the sterner joys of life are not entitled. Poverty is a bitter thing, but it is not as bitter as the existence of restless vacuity and physical, moral, and intellectual flabbiness to which those doom themselves who elect to spend all their years in that vainest of all vain pursuits—the pursuit of mere pleasure as a sufficient end in itself. The willfully idle man, like the willfully barren woman, has no place in a sane, healthy, and vigorous community. Moreover, the gross and hideous selfishness for which each stands defeats even its own miserable aims. Exactly as infinitely the happiest woman is she who has borne and brought up many healthy children, so infinitely the happiest man is he who has toiled hard and successfully in his life-work. The work may be done in a thousand

different ways,—with the brain or the hands, in the study, the field, or the workshop; if it is honest work, honestly done and well worth doing, that is all we have a right to ask. Every father and mother here, if they are wise, will bring up their children, not to shirk difficulties, but to meet them and overcome them; not to strive after a life of ignoble ease, but to strive to do their duty, first to themselves and their families, and then to the whole State; and this duty must inevitably take the shape of work in some form or other. You, the sons of pioneers, if you are true to your ancestry, must make your lives as worthy as they made theirs. They sought for true success, and therefore they did not seek ease. They knew that success comes only to those who lead the life of endeavor.

GETTING A RIGHT START.

It seems to me that the simple acceptance of this fundamental fact of American life, this acknowledgment that the law of work is the fundamental law of our being, will help us to start aright in facing not a few of the problems that confront us from without and from within. As regards internal affairs, it should teach us the prime need of remembering that, after all has been said and done, the chief factor in any man's success or failure must be his own character; that is, the sum of his common sense, his courage, his virile energy and capacity. Nothing can take the place of this individual factor.

I do not for a moment mean that much cannot be done to supplement it. Besides each of us working individually, all of us have got to work together. We cannot possibly do our best work as a nation unless all of us know how to act in combination as well as how to act each individually for himself. The acting in combination can take many forms, but of course its most effective form must be when it comes in the shape of law; that is, of action by the community as a whole through the lawmaking body.

LAW AND PROSPERITY.

But it is not possible ever to insure prosperity merely by law. Something for good can be done by law, and a bad law can do an infinity of mischief; but, after all, the best law can only prevent wrong and injustice, and give to the thrifty, the farseeing, and the hard-working a chance to exercise to the best advantage their special and peculiar abilities. No hard-and-fast rule can be laid down as to where our legislation shall stop in interfering between man and man, between interest and interest. All that can be said is that it is highly undesirable, on the one hand, to weaken individual initiative, and on

the other hand, that in a constantly increasing number of cases we shall find it necessary in the future to shackle cunning as in the past we have shackled force.

It is not only highly desirable, but necessary, that there should be legislation which shall carefully shield the interests of wage-workers, and which shall discriminate in favor of the honest and humane employer by removing the disadvantages under which he stands when compared with unscrupulous competitors who have no conscience and will do right only under fear of punishment.

Nor can legislation stop only with what are termed labor questions. The vast individual and corporate fortunes, the vast combinations of capital, which have marked the development of our industrial system, create new conditions, and necessitate a change from the old attitude of the State and the nation toward property.

AMASSING FORTUNES.

It is probably true that the large majority of the fortunes that now exist in this country have been amassed, not by injuring our people, but as an incident to the conferring of great benefits upon the community; and this no matter what may have been the conscious purpose of those amassing them. There is but the scantiest justification for most of the outcry against the men of wealth as such, and it ought to be unnecessary to state that any appeal which directly or indirectly leads to suspicion and hatred among ourselves, which tends to limit opportunity and therefore to shut the door of success against poor men of talent, and finally, which entails the possibility of lawlessness and violence, is an attack upon the fundamental properties of American citizenship. Our interests are at bottom common; in the long run, we go up or go down together. Yet more and more it is evident that the State, and if necessary the nation, has got to possess the right of supervision and control as regards the great corporations, which are its creatures; particularly as regards the great business combinations, which derive a portion of their importance from the existence of some monopolistic tendency. The right should be exercised with caution and self-restraint; but it should exist, so that it may be invoked if the need arise.

WORLD DUTIES OF THIS COUNTRY.

So much for our duties, each to himself and each to his neighbor, within the limits of our own country. But our country, as it strides forward with ever-increasing rapidity to a foremost place among the world powers, must necessarily find,

more and more, that it has world duties also. There are excellent people who believe that we can shirk these duties and yet retain our self-respect; but these good people are in error. Other good people seek to deter us from treading the path of hard but lofty duty by bidding us remember that all nations that have achieved greatness, that have expanded and played their part as world powers, have in the end passed away. So they have, and so have all others.

The weak and the stationary have vanished as surely as, and more rapidly than, those whose citizens felt within them the life that impels generous souls to great and noble effort. This is another way of stating the universal law of death, which is itself part of the universal law of life. The man who works, the man who does great deeds, in the end dies as surely as the veriest idler who cumbers the earth's surface; but he leaves behind him the great fact that he has done his work well. So it is with nations. While the nation that has dared to be great, that has had the will and the power to change the destiny of the ages, in the end must die, yet no less surely the nation that has played the part of the weakling must also die; and whereas the nation that has done nothing leaves nothing behind it, the nation that has done a great work really continues, though in changed form, for evermore. The Roman has passed away, exactly as all nations of antiquity which did not expand when he expanded have passed away; but their very memory has vanished, while he himself is still a living force throughout the wide world in our entire civilization of to-day, and will so continue through countless generations, through untold ages.

EAGER FOR OPPORTUNITIES.

It is because we believe with all our heart and soul in the greatness of this country, because we feel the thrill of hardy life in our veins, and are confident that to us is given the privilege of playing a leading part in the century that has just opened, that we hail with eager delight the opportunity to do whatever task Providence may allot us. We admit with all sincerity that our first duty is within our own household; that we must not merely talk, but act, in favor of cleanliness and decency and righteousness, in all political, social, and civic matters. No prosperity and no glory can save a nation that is rotten at heart. We must ever keep the core of our national being sound, and see to it that not only our citizens in private life, but above all, our statesmen in public life, practise the old commonplace virtues which from time immemorial have lain at the root of all true national well-being.

Yet, while this is our first duty, it is not our whole duty. Exactly as each man, while doing first his duty to his wife and the children within his home, must yet, if he hopes to amount to much, strive mightily in the world outside his home, so our nation, while first of all seeing to its own domestic well-being, must not shrink from playing its part among the great nations without.

Our duty may take many forms in the future, as it has taken many forms in the past. Nor is it possible to lay down a hard-and-fast rule for all cases. We must ever face the fact of our shifting national needs, of the always changing opportunities that present themselves. But we may be certain of one thing: whether we wish it or not, we cannot avoid hereafter having duties to do in the face of other nations. All that we can do is to settle whether we shall perform these duties well or ill.

SAY WHAT YOU MEAN.

Right here let me make as vigorous a plea as I know how in favor of saying nothing that we do not mean, and of acting without hesitation up to whatever we say. A good many of you are probably acquainted with the old proverb, "Speak softly and carry a big stick—you will go far." If a man continually blusters, if he lacks civility, a big stick will not save him from trouble; and neither will speaking softly avail, if back of the softness there does not lie strength, power. In private life there are few beings more obnoxious than the man who is always loudly boasting; and if the boaster is not prepared to back up his words, his position becomes absolutely contemptible. So it is with the nation. It is both foolish and undignified to indulge in undue self-glorification, and, above all, in loose-tongued denunciation of other peoples. Whenever on any point we come in contact with a foreign power, I hope that we shall always strive to speak courteously and respectfully of that foreign power. Let us make it evident that we intend to do justice. Then let us make it equally evident that we will not tolerate injustice being done us in return. Let us further make it evident that we use no words which we are not prepared to back up with deeds, and that while our speech is always moderate, we are ready and willing to make it good. Such an attitude will be the surest possible guarantee of that self-respecting peace the attainment of which is and must ever be the prime aim of a self-governing people.

This is the attitude we should take as regards the Monroe Doctrine. There is not the least need of blustering about it. Still less should it be used as a pretext for our own aggrandize-

ment at the expense of any other American state. But, most emphatically, we must make it evident that we intend on this point ever to maintain the old American position. Indeed, it is hard to understand how any man can take any other position now that we are all looking forward to the building of the isthmian canal. The Monroe Doctrine is not international law, but there is no necessity that it should be.

All that is needful is that it should continue to be a cardinal feature of American policy on this continent; and the Spanish-American states should, in their own interests, champion it as strongly as we do. We do not by this doctrine intend to sanction any policy of aggression by one American commonwealth at the expense of any other, nor any policy of commercial discrimination against any foreign power whatsoever. Commercially, as far as this doctrine is concerned, all we wish is a fair field and no favor; but if we are wise we shall strenuously insist that under no pretext whatsoever shall there be any territorial aggrandizement on American soil by any European power, and this no matter what form the territorial aggrandizement may take.

CHANCE OF HOSTILITIES.

We most earnestly hope and believe that the chance of our having any hostile military complication with any foreign power is very small. But that there will come a strain, a jar here and there, from commercial and agricultural—that is, from industrial—competition, is almost inevitable. Here again we have got to remember that our first duty is to our own people; and yet that we can best get justice by doing justice. We must continue the policy that has been so brilliantly successful in the past, and so shape our economic system as to give every advantage to the skill, energy, and intelligence of our farmers, merchants, manufacturers, and wage-workers; and yet we must also remember, in dealing with other nations, that benefits must be given where benefits are sought. It is not possible to dogmatize as to the exact way of attaining this end, for the exact conditions cannot be foretold. In the long run, one of our prime needs is stability and continuity of economic policy; and yet, through treaty or by direct legislation, it may, at least in certain cases, become advantageous to supplement our present policy by a system of reciprocal benefit and obligation.

Throughout a large part of our national career our history has been one of expansion, the expansion being of different kinds at different times. This explanation is not a matter of regret, but of price. It is vain to tell a people as masterful as ours that the spirit of enterprise is not safe. The

true American has never feared to run risks when the prize to be won was of sufficient value. No nation capable of self-government, and of developing by its own efforts a sane and orderly civilization, no matter how small it may be, has anything to fear from us.

DEALINGS WITH CUBA.

Our dealings with Cuba illustrate this, and should be forever a subject of just national pride. We speak in no spirit of arrogance when we state as a simple historic fact that never in recent times has any great nation acted with such disinterestedness as we have shown in Cuba. We freed the island from the Spanish yoke. We then earnestly did our best to help the Cubans in the establishment of free education, of law and order, of material prosperity, of the cleanliness necessary to sanitary well-being in their great cities. We did all this at great expense of treasure, at some expense of life, and now we are establishing them in a free and independent commonwealth, and have asked in return nothing whatever save that at no time shall their independence be prostituted to the advantage of some foreign rival of ours, or so as to menace our well-being. To have failed to ask this would have amounted to national stultification on our part.

In the Philippines we have brought peace, and we are at this moment giving them such freedom and self-government as they could never under any conceivable conditions have obtained had we turned them loose to sink into a welter of blood and confusion, or to become the prey of some strong tyranny without or within. The bare recital of the facts is sufficient to show that we did our duty,—and what prouder title to honor can a nation have than to have done its duty? We have done our duty to ourselves, and we have done the higher duty of promoting the civilization of mankind.

ESSENTIAL OF CIVILIZATION.

The first essential of civilization is law. Anarchy is simply the handmaiden and forerunner of tyranny and despotism. Law and order enforced by justice and by strength lie at the foundation of civilization. Law must be based upon justice, else it cannot stand, and it must be enforced with resolute firmness, because weakness in enforcing it means in the end that there is no justice and no law—nothing but the rule of disorderly and unscrupulous strength. Without the habit of orderly obedience to the law, without the stern enforcement of the laws at the expense of those who defiantly resist them, there can be no possible progress, moral or material, in civilization. There can be no weakening of the law.

abiding spirit at home if we are permanently to succeed, and just as little can we afford to show weakness abroad. Lawlessness and anarchy were put down in the Philippines as a prerequisite to inducing the reign of justice.

Barbarism has and can have no place in a civilized world. It is our duty toward the people living in barbarism to see that they are freed from their chains, and we can only free them by destroying barbarism itself. The missionary, the merchant, and the soldier may each have to play a part in this destruction, and in the consequent uplifting of the people. Exactly as it is the duty of a civilized power scrupulously to respect the rights of all weaker civilized powers and gladly to help those who are struggling toward civilization, so it is its duty to put down savagery and barbarism. As in such a work human instruments must be used, and as human instruments are imperfect, this means that at times there will be injustices—that at times merchant, or soldier, or even missionary, may do wrong.

WHERE THE SHAME IS.

Let us instantly condemn and rectify such wrong when it occurs, and, if possible, punish the wrongdoer. But, shame, thrice shame, to us if we are so foolish as to make such occasional wrongdoing an excuse for failing to perform a great and righteous task. Not only in our own land, but throughout the world, throughout all history, the advance of civilization has been of incalculable benefit to mankind, and those through whom it has advanced deserve the higher honor. All honor to the missionary, all honor to the soldier, all honor to the merchant, who now in our own day have done so much to bring light into the world's dark places.

Let me insist again, for fear of possible misconstruction, upon the fact that our duty is twofold, and that we must raise others while we are benefiting ourselves. In bringing order to the Philippines, our soldiers added a new page to the honor-roll of American history, and they incalculably benefited the islanders themselves. Under the wise administration of Governor Taft, the islands now enjoy a peace and liberty of which they have hitherto never even dreamed. But this peace and liberty under the law must be supplemented by material, by industrial, development. Every encouragement should be given to their commercial development, to the introduction of American industries and products; not merely because this will be a good thing for our

people, but infinitely more because it will be of incalculable benefit to the people of the Philippines.

DO NOT BE WEAKLINGS.

We shall make mistakes; and if we let these mistakes frighten us from work, we shall show ourselves weaklings. Half a century ago, Minnesota and the two Dakotas were Indian hunting-grounds. We committed plenty of blunders, and now and then worse than blunders, in our dealings with the Indians. But who does not admit at the present day that we were right in wresting from barbarism and adding to civilization the territory out of which we have made these beautiful States? And now we are civilizing the Indian and putting him on a level to which he could never have attained under the old conditions.

In the Philippines, let us remember that the spirit and not the mere form of government is the essential matter. The Tagals have a hundredfold the freedom under us that they would have if we had abandoned the islands. We are not trying to subjugate a people,—we are trying to develop them and make them a law-abiding, industrious, and educated people, and, we hope, ultimately, a self-governing people. In short, in the work we have done, we are but carrying out the true principles of our democracy. We work in a spirit of self-respect for ourselves and of good-will toward others; in a spirit of love for and of infinite faith in mankind. We do not blindly refuse to face the evils that exist or the shortcomings inherent in humanity; but across blunderings and shirking, across selfishness and meanness of motive, across shortsightedness and cowardice, we gaze steadfastly toward the far horizon of golden triumph.

If you will study our past history as a nation, you will see we have made many blunders and have been guilty of many shortcomings, and yet that we have always in the end come out victorious because we have refused to be daunted by blunders and defeats—have recognized them, but have persevered in spite of them. So it must be in the future. We gird up our loins as a nation with the stern purpose to play our part manfully in winning the ultimate triumph; and therefore we turn scornfully aside from the paths of mere ease and idleness, and with unfaltering steps tread the rough road of endeavor, smiting down the wrong and battling for the right as Greatheart smote and battled in Bunyan's immortal story.



WESLEY'S CHAPEL, CITY ROAD, LONDON, WHERE THE CONFERENCE MET.

THE METHODIST ECUMENICAL CONFERENCE.

BY REV. J. WESLEY JOHNSTON, D.D.

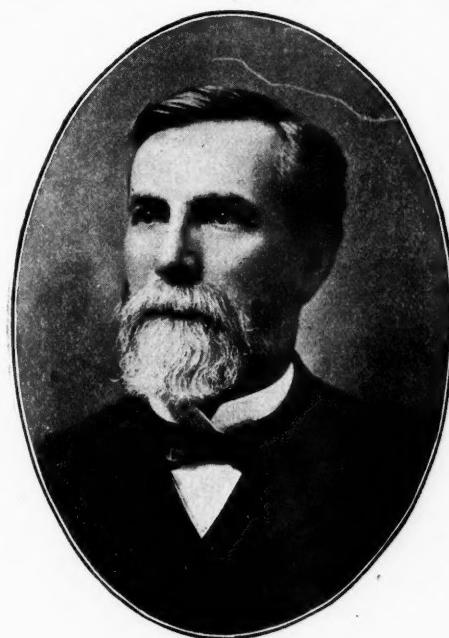
THE Ecumenical Conference, which has just closed its meeting in City Road Chapel, London,—the historic center of English Methodism,—was a notable gathering. The delegates, five hundred in all, represented every branch in Methodism, distinguished ministers and honored laymen coming from all parts of the world. But though a delegated body, and having a membership distinctly official, it was in no sense either a legislative or executive assembly, its functions being strictly limited to those of a conference for friendly and religious intercourse. This is the third conference of this nature, the first meeting in the same place as the present one in 1881; the second in Washington, D. C., ten years later, and the one now just closed, which opened its session September 4, and held its final meeting September 18. The Methodist family is a large one, larger than many people imagine, its adherents numbering, according to reliable statistics, close upon thirty millions. But, like every other large family, there are divisions and separations; not, however, of blood and sympathy, but of name and manner of work. At the recent Ecumenical Conference, so far as possible, every branch of

Methodism had place on the programme, and while differences of organization were cheerfully recognized, common unity and inherent kinship were accepted without question. The value of such a gathering cannot be overestimated. Not only does it promote Christian unity among those who are favored with a place in its membership, but, as a sequence, organic union will eventually follow. This may not be immediate—better so, perhaps—but that there shall be ultimately one great world-wide Methodism seems almost inevitable, and anything that leads up to such a possibility is just so much gained. When the separations are of the nature of cleavages, such as those between rocks where the one part has no relation whatever to the other, once the division has taken place, then only a forced unity is possible, involving mortar or cement. But in the case of Methodism there has never been a cleavage—it is simply a tree with branches of different names. Ecumenical conferences, therefore, while not administrative in the legal sense, prepare the way for the larger results which in the end are bound to come.

It was most appropriate that Dr. W. T. Davi-

son, president of the British Wesleyan Conference, should preside at the opening session. Chaste in speech, dignified in bearing, a man of rare gifts as a preacher and administrator, he at once favorably impressed the conference and gave immediate tone to its proceedings. And it was also most appropriate that the preacher of the opening sermon was Bishop Galloway, of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, for Bishop Galloway's reputation as a preacher is known throughout Methodism. The theme chosen for discourse was a happy one—"Christian Experience: Its Supreme Value and Crowning Evidence." No subject could have been more in harmony with the spirit of the hour, or with the genius of Methodism. Perhaps more than any other denomination in Protestantism, the Methodist Church puts emphasis upon experience, and the narration of that experience as an element of Christian life. Bishop Galloway's sermon, delivered with much earnestness and unction, elicited many devout responses.

At the afternoon session, formal addresses of welcome were made, Dr. Davison representing the British Conference in a speech of rare eloquence and beauty, and Rev. Joseph Odell, president of the Primitive Methodist Church, most fittingly speaking on behalf of his branch of Methodism.

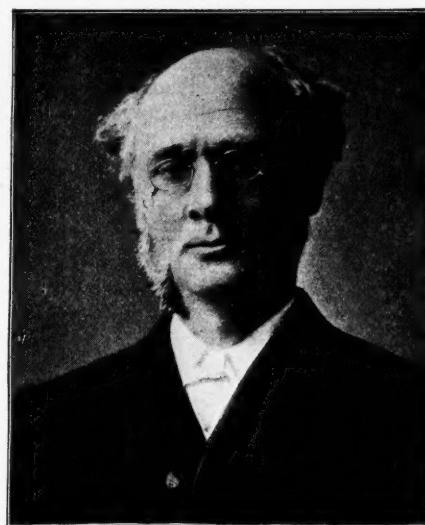


BISHOP CHARLES B. GALLOWAY.

(Of the Methodist Episcopal Church South.)

To these addresses responses were made by Bishop Hurst, of the Methodist Episcopal Church; Dr. John Potts, of the Methodist Church of Canada, and Bishop Walters, of the African Methodist Church.

The following day the programme arranged by the committee was taken up, when papers touching almost every phase of Methodist life



REV. W. T. DAVISON, D.D.

(President of the British Wesleyan Conference.)

were presented, many of these papers creating deep interest, judging by the discussions which followed. Though questions of Church polity and discipline, regarding which there were recognized differences, were carefully excluded from the list of topics, yet at times the debates approached well-nigh the border-land of controversy. When the topic "The Influence of Methodism in the Promotion of International Peace" was being discussed, matters of politics interjected themselves with some warmth into the session, though not to any serious extent. "Biblical Criticism" had a session given to it, in which the papers and addresses were of high order.

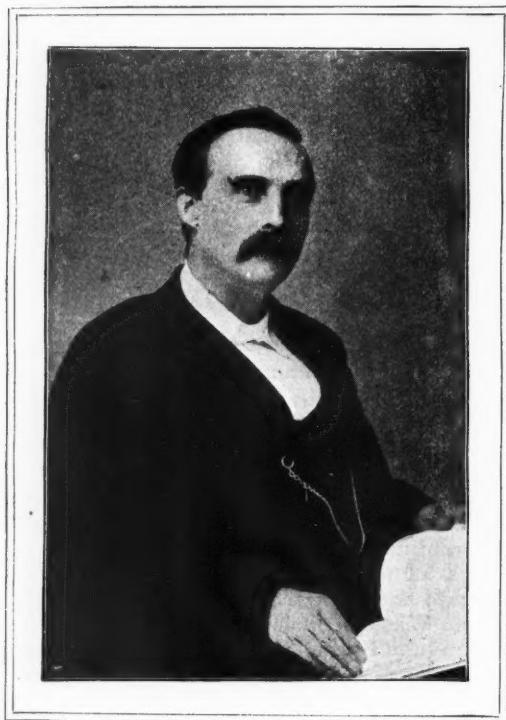
"Methodism and Modern Unbelief" called out several distinguished speakers, who gave the subject honest and judicious treatment.

"Methodist Literature" involved a discussion of authorship and journalism, matters in which Methodism is much concerned.

Other topics bearing possibly with more directness on actual Church life, as, for instance, "The Elements of Pulpit Effectiveness," "How to Mobilize the Whole Church," "The Perversion of Wealth," etc., were given a careful hearing, and were just as carefully discussed by other speakers besides those on the programme.

The temperance question had a prominent place; so, also, had the general subject of "Misions," the brethren assigned to these topics being so related to them as to make the discussions of peculiar interest. As a whole, the conference was one of great profit to all who were favored in being present. Three hundred of its delegates were from this side of the Atlantic, many of them the picked men of their denomination; and their keen, alert, vigorous habits of thought and speech were soon felt in the conference. The Canadian Methodist delegation, though not large

a gathering of representative men, freely giving their views on the vital issues of the day, must exert a great influence for good. The programme was doubtless overcrowded; the time limit was too rigorous to admit of as full discussion as some of the subjects demanded; several topics

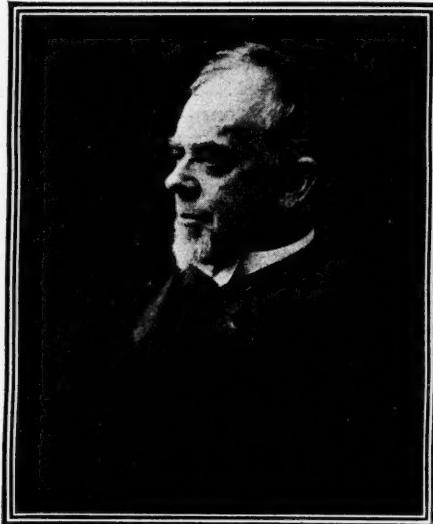


REV. GEORGE T. CANDLIN.

(President of the Methodist New Connection.)

in numbers, was particularly strong, being composed of the leading men of Canadian Methodism. And this is also true of the representatives from Australia.

Apart from everything else, the interchange of views was both healthy and stimulating. Such

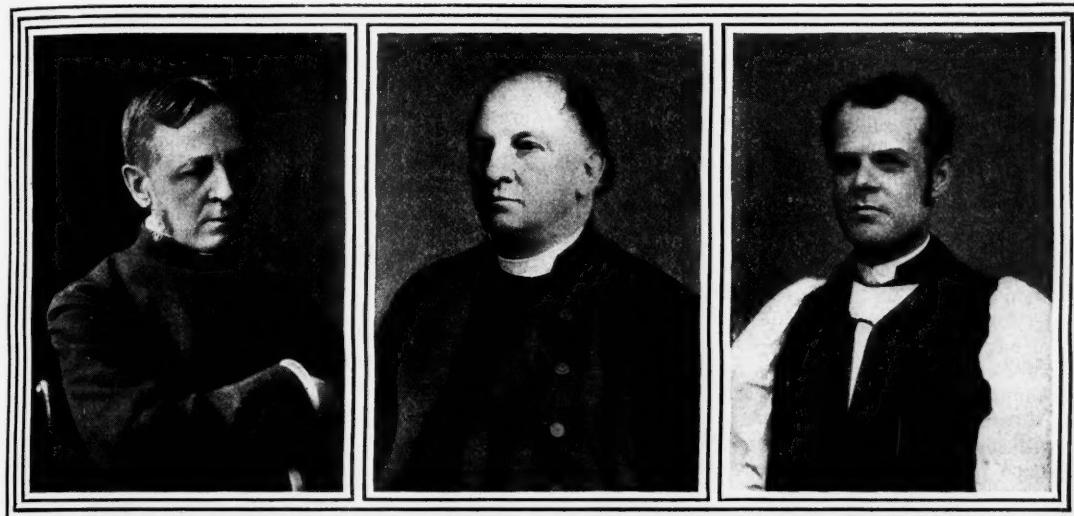


BISHOP JOHN F. HURST.

(Of the Methodist Episcopal Church.)

were not treated with the generosity they deserved; there was not much room for what might be called impromptu debate; yet, conceding all this, the conference was a memorable one, and its influence upon Methodism will be deep and abiding.

Deep interest was manifested in the conference, not only by Londoners, but throughout all Great Britain. Had City Road Chapel been more than twice as large, it would have been crowded at every session. The evening meetings held in public halls were enthusiastic gatherings, and the fervor of old-time Methodism seemed to renew itself. Every prominent newspaper in the kingdom gave reports from the conference, some devoting to it more space than is usually given to religious conventions. Methodism, with its abounding life, its marvelous history, its astonishing growth, its adaptability to all races and conditions, its harmony of doctrine and essential unity of spirit, and the clear-eyed fearlessness with which it enters upon the new century, had such manifestation at this Ecumenical Conference that Englishmen felt in it a force which must needs be reckoned with when considering the problems of a nation and the world.



REV. W. R. HUNTINGTON, D.D.
(Rector of Grace Church, New York.)

BISHOP WM. CROSWELL DOANE,
OF ALBANY.

Photo by Anderson.
BISHOP W. F. NICHOLS, OF CALI-
FORNIA.

THE EPISCOPAL CONVENTION AND ITS WORK.

BY FLORENCE E. WINSLOW.

WHEN the Triennial Convention of the Episcopal Church opens in San Francisco, on October 2, its delegates will find themselves in new surroundings, for this great legislative body has not before met west of Chicago and Minneapolis, and Eastern men are looking for a new and instructive experience, while those of the far West expect encouragement and inspiration from the presence of the chief assembly of the Church. The mission boards hope that the domestic mission fields may seem more real and tangible to those who have recently passed over the prairies and mountains which separate the Mississippi from the Pacific, while the appeal from foreign lands may come with more force when the givers look across a new ocean toward lands recently opened to missionary effort. The convention will be at least distinctively missionary in tone.

The General Convention is made up of two houses, the bishops, who are members *ex officio*, forming one, the other being composed of elected delegates, clerical and lay, who represent the dioceses of the country in the proportion of four in each order to each diocese, and having, including representatives of missionary jurisdictions, over five hundred members. Some of the ablest men in the land,—men elected to represent parishes rich in social experience,—will be there,

and such seek always to affiliate the Church closely, through its convention, with the social needs and issues of the day. Of this type is the Rev. William R. Huntington, D.D., whose leadership in the House of Deputies brought to a successful issue the revision of the Prayer Book and the revival of the ancient order of deaconesses, besides advancing, as has no other voice, the cause of Church unity. It has been customary to speak of schools of thought in the Church,—it would be truer to the truth of to-day to mention only the school of action. To this belong all the leaders in the convention, among them such bishops as Henry C. Potter, whose effective work in the purification of the springs which directly feed the social life of the community needs no mention; William C. Doane, Bishop of Albany, who is leader in the cause of the family against divorce and disintegration; John Fulton, whose legislative ability brings light out of darkness, and George C. Thomas, whose financial management contributes to the success of the Missionary Board. "Nothing human is alien to me," is the broad message by which these men, and many like them, interpret the ancient creeds which the Church had from early saint and council to the modern world.

No subject of deeper interest to the general

public could come before any religious gathering than that indicated by the schedules as the prominent subject for debate, during the coming weeks, in Trinity Church, San Francisco. In view of the fact that the foundations of society are threatened, and in many communities the sanctities of the family openly violated, the proposed new canons on marriage and divorce, the most severe and drastic that have ever been suggested by any Protestant church, are of absorbing interest. The Episcopal Church has always taken high ground in this matter, its clergy being forbidden to perform the marriage ceremony for any divorced person, save in the case of an innocent party in a suit for adultery. In the canons now to be considered, a distinct advance in stringent legislation is made. The question will come before the House of Bishops in the shape of the report of a joint committee of the two houses. In the House of Deputies, this report will be supplemented by a special one from a separate committee of its own appointment. The proposed canons, after premising that marriage must not be solemnized without witnesses, nor, in the case of minors, without adequate consent of parent or guardian, say that "No minister of this Church may solemnize a marriage between any two persons unless, nor until, by inquiry, he shall have satisfied himself that neither person has been or is the husband or wife of any other person still living, unless the former marriage was annulled by a decree of some civil court of competent jurisdiction, for cause existing before such former marriage."

It is interesting to note that there has been a marked and rapid change in the opinion of influential men in this communion since the convention of the last triennium, when these canons failed to pass. Men of all schools of thought have been expressing their change of conviction in this matter, giving the reasons therefor. They retain their belief that a new marriage after divorce is allowable under sanction of the words of Christ in St. Matthew xix., 9 and 10, and acknowledge that innocent persons may suffer if the proposed prohibitory canon becomes law; and yet they conclude that for the general good the sacrifice of the few must be made. Bishop Potter's changed attitude may perhaps be taken as significant of the progress of opinion in regard to these canons. The opponent in the Washington convention of the proposed legislation, he within a year expressed openly his altered conviction. "The whole subject," he says, "has gained a new aspect from recent events, which have undoubtedly awakened in all sober-minded Christian people a profound sense of alarm; and the consensus of opinion among them, as to the necessity of legis-

lation which shall prohibit the remarriage of divorced persons under any circumstances whatever, has greatly widened and deepened. Such a conclusion may be the wisest we can reach at present. In the face of such a danger as threatens us, the only safe course may be to prohibit absolutely that which, while it might be permissible if we could be always sure that it had a scriptural justification for it, is only wrong and evil when that justification, existing in fact, exists, e.g., only because it has been fraudulently obtained." "It may be that our only safe canon is one in which the Church refuses remarriage to persons divorced for any cause arising after marriage, absolutely and universally."

Another prominent churchman says that in nine cases out of ten no innocent party will, especially if there be children, emblazon on the public records the worst of charges, every instinct of propriety suggesting the substitution of desertion or other allowable excuse. If the fact that eminent jurists and publicists of the communion are said to declare all but unanimously in favor of the stricter canon be considered, the conclusion that this central section of the new canon on marriage will in time be passed is unavoidable. There is, however, a section on discipline which will not find ready acceptance. Persons married after divorce are not to be admitted to the sacraments, except in the case of the innocent party to a divorce for the cause of adultery. This provision would throw an appalling responsibility on the parish clergy, who are made sole judges of the facts in individual instances. Appeal, however, is allowed to the bishop, who, after inquiry, may deliver final judgment.

A third section of the canon presented by the committee of the House of Deputies repeats the Levitical table of degrees of consanguinity within which, as it states, the laws of God do not permit marriage. The report of the committee of the two houses substitutes for this the English table of prohibited degrees. The clause in this which forbids marriage with a deceased wife's sister has never found acceptance in this country. It may have been good law in the time of St. Basil, but, as a clergyman has said, St. Basil is a dead issue in America to-day, and it is impossible to convince a man that his wife's sister is really his own. Bishop Doane, of Albany, has been among the most strenuous advisers of advanced divorce legislation in the Episcopal Church. With him have stood all those who maintain that marriage is sacramental in character and therefore indissoluble. This party will now be joined by many who have been heretofore opposed to its conclusions, and the result of their combined

action will be eagerly looked for by churchmen everywhere.

Besides these important canons on divorce, there are 21 concerning the ministry, 17 on discipline, and 19 on general subjects. There are, besides, a report, prepared by two eminent jurists, the Hon. Charles Andrews and the Hon. Robert Earl, on the establishment of a Court of Appeals, and a proposition to introduce into the Church a provincial system. The province in its simplest form is an association of adjacent dioceses grouped together for the management of local matters of common interest. It is proposed that the Church be divided into provinces, with synods composed of bishops, who will choose their own primate, together with five clergymen and five laymen from each diocese of the province, the synod to have a power of separate legislation, subject to the authority of the General Convention, whose overcrowded calendars would thus find needed relief. This system need not be weighted with foreign titles such as "archbishop" and "metropolitan," whose very sound proved unpleasing to democratic ears when they were suggested in the convention of 1898, in order to prove entirely feasible and effective. In addition to all these canons, the amendments to the constitution, of which there are eleven, must come for final action before the present convention. One of these continues the present custom of the Church, which makes the senior bishop in the order of consecration presiding bishop. The health of the incumbent rarely permits him to attend the conventions, and his presidential duties must, as a rule, be delegated to others. It seems an unwise provision, and it is said that the bishops of the House are hoping to change this order. The Rt. Rev. William Croswell Doane is chairman of the House of Bishops at its present sitting, the presiding bishop, Rt. Rev. Thomas M. Clark, being too infirm to attend. The House will miss another of its ablest orators, as Frederick Dan. Huntington, the beloved Bishop of Central New York, whose voice has always been raised in the cause of social and labor reforms, will be absent. The Rev. Morgan Dix, D.D., the elected president of the House of Deputies, has also declined to be present, and a new man must be chosen in his place.

While it is believed that the majority of the dioceses are still unalterably opposed to any change of name of the Church, the proposition to strike out the terms "Protestant Episcopal" from the title-page of the Prayer Book will probably

be again made in the convention of 1901. The first attempt to alter the name "Protestant Episcopal" was made at the General Convention in Chicago, some fifteen years ago. If the motion had carried, the official title would have been "The Church in the United States," which would, in the opinion of those who presented it, affiliate the communion more closely to Catholic usage, the titles employed for the several churches in early days being always geographical. The attempt which failed in 1889 can scarcely prove more successful to-day, but if the House enters upon the discussion the usual number of forceful and brilliant speeches in defense of the old name may be expected.

Among the most important of the subjects to be taken up at this convention is an extended report on suggested marginal readings in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Over seven thousand of these alternatives, taken from the margins of the authorized version, from both texts and margins of the revised, and from the preferred readings of the American Company of Revisers of 1881, with additions personally made by the present committee, amount, in fact, to a new translation of the Bible. Such translations are usually considered by experts in periods of long leisure. Whether the sacred text can be otherwise than maltreated by a convention of reverent but inexpert delegates in the fleeting intervals which can be secured in crowded legislative session is matter of doubt.

The General Convention has never previously given so much thought to missions. Seven of its regular sessions will be filled by the Board of Missions, who have arranged addresses representing its work in China, Japan, Haiti, Porto Rico, Brazil, Africa, Alaska, and all the domestic fields of service. There will be, in addition, a missionary mass meeting, over which the venerable Bishop Whipple, the "Apostle to the Indians," will preside. It will be held in the great Mechanics' Pavilion, and addresses will be made by Bishop Potter, of New York; the Lord Bishop of Newcastle, the Bishop of Kyoto, and Mr. Burton Mansfield. The importance of the work in the mission fields will be still further accentuated by missionary sermons in all the churches on Sundays during the sessions, by children's mass meetings, at which bishops Kip, Hare, and Edsall will be the speakers, and by the triennial sermon, to be preached before the Board of Missions by the Rt. Rev. Frederick R. Graves, D.D., Missionary Bishop of Shanghai.



THE LIBERAL VICTORY IN DENMARK.

BY A DANISH CORRESPONDENT.

THE political victory of the Liberal party in Denmark that ended the bitter fight of more than thirty years between the old Denmark—that rooted in landlordism—and “the new Denmark”—that loving nature—is the crowning historical event of an evolution of a hundred years which has modernized the Danish people in a higher degree than most of the other peoples.

THE AGRARIAN REVOLUTION OF 1788.

In 1788, the state of Denmark was very much like that of Ireland to-day. Great landlords owned the whole country, and the peasants were considered silly, lazy, and so forth.

In 1788, a series of great land reforms began, with the result that Denmark almost realized the “three acres and a cow” ideal; and, indeed, the great landlords now own only 8 per cent. of the country, while all the farmers are freehold proprietors of farms from fifty to one hundred acres in extent, and three-fourths of the workingmen in the villages are likewise freehold owners of their houses and some few acres of land.

These reforms soon brought great prosperity to the peasantry, and with the prosperity came interest in public affairs and a demand for political influence and power.

In 1831, Denmark obtained a degree of representative government—political bodies in each province—but only with consultative power. But the political activity of the peasantry had already begun, and we find “Bønder” peasants among the active agitators and great national orators. Ten years later, the powerful “League of the Peasants’ Friends” was formed, and the question of the rights of the peasantry naturally dominated all others.

THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION OF 1848.

In 1848, the people of Copenhagen went *en masse* in a great procession, headed by the Council of Copenhagen, to the King’s palace, and claimed a constitution under threat of taking to “the self-help of despair.” The King gave way, and a Liberal ministry entered office. While the small nation, of only 1,400,000, sent 60,000 men and a large fleet to the three years’ war with northern Germany, which ended with the bloody victories of Fredericia and Ested, in which latter 40,000 Danes won a two days’ fight with a loss of nearly 4,000 killed and wounded,

the constitutional parliament was giving the country a new constitution, with full power for the people and universal suffrage. The constitution dates from June 5, 1849. In the new parliament the left wing was formed by the “Bondevenner” (Friends of the Peasants), most of them farmers or agricultural laborers, the party numbering about one-third of the lower house, the other two-thirds being the “National Liberale,” or men of constitutional views, but of a more academic and bureaucratic character.

The war of 1864 brought about the failure of the foreign policy of the “National Liberale” party, which, presaging the coming to power of the democratic peasantry, patched up a hurried alliance with the great landlords and other relics of the *ancien régime*.

THE TRIUMPH OF REACTION—1866.

In August, 1864, before the conclusion of peace, they began a strong agitation for a revision of the constitution, which, after a two years’ struggle, ended in the law of 1866, which altered the character of the upper house so much that



PROFESSOR DEUNTZER.
(Prime Minister.)

the conservative elements of the nation now have vast influence.

At the eleventh hour, the Conservatives struck this treacherous blow at the people whose sons they by a foolish policy had led to war against desperate odds with Germany and Austria at once.

As soon as the war was over, the people's energy, stung by the disasters of the war, rose as never before. The motto of the hour was, "What has been lost without must be won with-in." A succession of popular progressive movements was begun—for instance, that for the cultivation of the heaths in Jutland, where in the last thirty-five years an area of land equal to one-tenth of the whole of Denmark has been won for agriculture or planted with trees. The peasants rose in a body against those responsible for the policy of 1864, and in 1872 the left wing, or Democratic party, was returned with a small majority in the lower house.

A free constitution already existed on paper, but freedom in practice means power for the people in all public matters, and of that freedom there was but little in Denmark. There were but few Democratic papers then in Denmark, and none in Copenhagen, which, like almost all the towns, was either simply Conservative or politically asleep. In nearly all municipal and other bodies the Conservative element preponderated. Conservatives owned all banks and insurance companies; all trade was in their hands,—in fact, all power belonged to them, except that the Democrats had a majority of two votes in the lower house.

A THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

The Conservatives actually violated their own principles so far as to refuse to hand over the government to the majority, and a bitter political struggle began between the old and the new Denmark. This struggle lasted nearly thirty years. Its causes were fourfold. The Democratic party had to rouse the entire peasantry in order to win the cities and the upper classes to their side. The Danes had to complete their right of self-government by enforcing its principles in all departments of social life. Open rebellion, which might have brought about an armed insurrection from the south, was precluded by the nearness of Germany. Also, the less stalwart members of the Democratic party could not be depended upon at first, and faced about at the critical moment.

That the Democratic party has been able to hold fast to the same policy and force it through by dint of thirty years' bitter struggle and many reverses is due to the peculiar character of the



MR. ENEVOLD SORENSEN.
(Home Affairs.)

Danish people—to their stubbornness and persistence, that know no giving in.

The Danish press has, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, almost twice as large a circulation as that of any other country. Four-fifths of the newspapers are Democratic and entirely under the influence of the Liberal element in the community.

Of the sixteen seats in the capital, the Conservatives only hold one, with a majority of twenty-three votes; and nearly all the cities are won for the Democrats. Almost all the students are Liberals. How the peasantry vote is shown by the fact that many constituencies have brought 98 per cent. of the electors in an area of from twenty to thirty miles around to the polling-place.

HOW THE BATTLE WAS FOUGHT OUT.

The Conservatives have been shut out from every municipal body or important committee all over the country when the Democrats could bring a majority to the poll. The latter have organized hundreds of banks, which collect their own money. When, during an economic crisis, the Conservative papers proposed to ruin the peasantry by calling up the capital lent on mortgage on farms, these banks were able to give

their clients a guarantee for new mortgages ; and the Conservatives were completely foiled. Farmers and workingmen have formed large co-operative and trade-union associations, which have made the Danes more independent of capital than any other nation. They are now a self-governing people in every sense of the word.

The main features of the struggle are as follows : The Conservatives, who had lost their majority of two at the elections of 1872-73, tried to win it back by raising the standard of militarism and proposing heavy expenditure on fortifications. The Democrats won a great victory in 1876 against these laws, reducing the Conservatives to some thirty-five members out of 102 in the lower house.

THE COUP D'ÉTAT OF 1885.

In 1877, the Conservative ministry (Estrup ministry), which came into power in 1875, got into difficulties over the budget, and at the critical moment some "pseudo-Democrats," under the lead of Mr. Bojesen, gave way, and made a compromise with the government. The Radicals, reduced to about thirty-five, were up in arms against the Moderates. At the elections of 1879 and the two elections of 1881 they reduced the recreant minority to submission, and formed a new Radical majority, which in 1884 rose to 83. Mr. Estrup, a remarkably strong man, but unprincipled, now took the most extravagant measures. In the spring of 1885 he exceeded the budget ("bursted the budget," he said), and called for provisional budgets, which had not been voted by Parliament. The government maintained that when the two houses did not agree about the budget, and in consequence no budget was voted, the constitution gave the government a right to give provisional budgets, or, as they are called in Denmark, "provisional financial laws." Several university professors of law supported this theory, which, however, found one strong opponent.

PREPARING FOR CIVIL WAR.

The people considered this a *coup d'état*, and the crisis became acute. The government meanwhile took strong military measures. A supply of Maxims and other guns, to last for six months or more, was got in. These were manned by officers only, as they dared not trust the conscript soldiers, and were ready for use at any moment, while hundreds of young Conservatives enrolled and armed in order to fight the Democrats. The Democrats, however, were careful to avoid giving any pretext for the use of the guns. But the agitation was very serious. Many peasants refused to pay taxes ; they cheered

for the republic as lustily as did the workingmen in the towns, and furious demonstrations against the government took place, and even against the King when he appeared in the country districts. The present King has always been unpopular among the Democrats. Of this, most striking proofs could be given from speeches in Parliament, the complete indifference of the people, as a whole, to any royal festivities, and from the speeches of peasants who formed deputations to the King which were frequently the occasion for much plain speaking. The government, on their side, tried to arouse their adherents by a strong agitation for more fortifications. The army officers actually held as many as 1,100 public meetings about the country ; and a League of National Defense was formed, which raised by private subscriptions enough money to build two forts outside Copenhagen.

THE REIGN OF THE MODERATES.

After five years, when the government was almost tired out, a split came in the Democratic party. It was again Mr. Bojesen who formed a new "Moderate party" of forty Democrats. He would never, he said, make a compromise with the government, but only try to carry out some



COL. V. H. O. MADSEN.
(Minister of War.)

reforms. But the Radicals knew better, and again appealed to the people to force a new majority. Mr. Bojesen, however, managed fairly well at the elections of 1892, and in 1894 he made a sort of compromise with the Conservatives, in consequence of which Mr. Estrup resigned and a more moderate Conservative government came into power. But the people, who would have none of a compromise with a government that had, as they thought, broken the constitution, mistrusted Mr. Bojesen, and the entry to power of the Radicals was assured.

At the election of 1895, the allied Moderates and Conservatives were thoroughly defeated, and the Radicals rose to 73 votes out of 114 in the lower house. In 1897, the new government resigned, and a "business government" was formed of Conservatives. But the 1898 election was still more crushing for the Conservatives, and in the spring of 1900 they resigned. The Conservatives made a last effort with the Selisted ministry, a government which was hailed with derision on all sides and has been nothing but a farce.

THE VICTORY OF LAST APRIL.

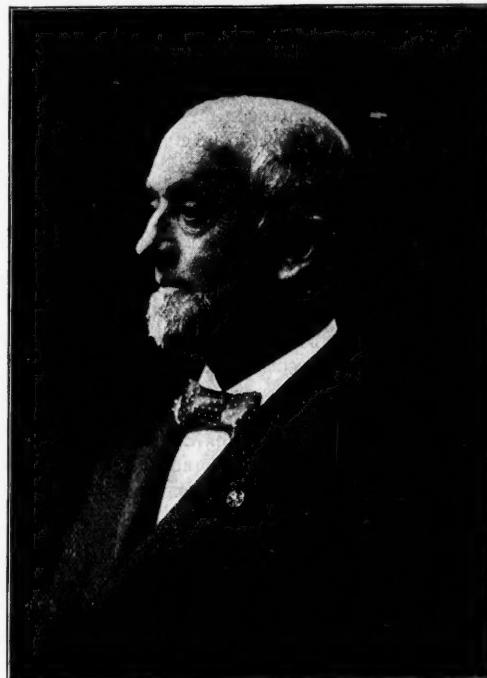
The crown prince made two public speeches in its favor, but without avail, and at the elections of April, 1901, out of 114 members in the lower house only 5 were won by the Conservatives, with small majorities, and even the strong Conservative majority in the upper house was reduced to one vote through the rebellion of the Conservatives.

The Danes are now a thoroughly radical and democratic people, with a more perfect system of self-government in politics and business than perhaps any other nation. The population has increased so much that it is now as large as the whole population of the kingdom and duchies before 1864. After England, it is also the richest country in the world per head of the population, and the excellence of its educational system is matter of common knowledge.

Denmark, therefore, enters the new century steaming full speed ahead, and with the best hopes for the future.

THE NEW MINISTRY.

The victory of April 3 last was as complete over the Moderates as over the government. Before the poll the Moderates were twenty-two strong, but Mr. Bojesen, the evil genius of the democracy, withdrew his candidature and retired into private life, while several of his supposed adherents declared during the campaign that, if re-elected, they would join the Radicals. Mr. Bojesen's constituency, which he had represented



VICE-ADMIRAL JOHNKE.

(Marine.)

since 1869, was taken by the Radicals, and the Moderates, now reduced to twelve or thirteen—of whom about half will join the Radicals if allowed—have lost all their former importance. The premier and minister of justice is M. Deuntzer, professor of law at the university, an old Radical who in 1885 publicly opposed the government.

The minister of agriculture is Mons. Ole Hansen. He is a common farmer from a village in Seeland, owner of a farm of about one hundred acres; M.P. since 1890. In 1885, he was a member of several municipal councils which refused to publish the government laws or follow its orders, and were consequently several times imprisoned, but without any result. He also refused to pay taxes after the "provisional laws."

The law officer of the crown is Mons. Alberti, who is a leader of many co-operative undertakings of the peasantry; M.P. since 1892.

Mr. Christensen is the most important member of the new cabinet. He was born in West Jutland, in 1856, the son of a farmer, and earned his living when a boy as a shepherd. He passed the examination for village schoolmaster in Jutland, and taught till recently in the little village of Stadil, in West Jutland. In 1890 he

was returned for Parliament, and in 1895 became leader of the opposition. Of late years, the Conservative government being so utterly weak, he practically ruled the country in his capacity of president of the finance committee of the Folke-thing. A few months ago he resigned his post as schoolmaster, succeeded in being elected a "revisor of the state," and is now minister of religion and education.

After Mr. Christensen, Mr. Horup is considered the greatest triumph for the Democrats. Born in 1841, the son of a schoolmaster in an Iceland village, he became a law student, taking his degree in 1867 at the university. In his youth, he wrote a great deal of poetry, but never had any of it printed. From poetry he turned to journalism, and worked on the staff of a new Democratic paper in Copenhagen, the *Morgen Bladet*. He is one of the most brilliant and best known of Danish journalists—the most brilliant, according to George Brandes. In 1876, he was returned for Parliament, and it was he and two others who, between 1877 and 1891,



MR. V. HORUP.
(Minister for Public Works.)

broke down the Moderates and brought the Radical majority to power. In 1884, he founded the *Politiken*, now the most important paper in Scandinavia. He is now minister of public works and communications.



MR. J. C. CHRISTENSEN.
(Minister of Instruction.)

Mr. Sorensen was born in 1850, the son of a small ship's captain. He passed his examination as a village schoolmaster, and when Berg, "the Danish O'Connell," the great agitator and organizer of the Democracy in 1870, began his agitation and founded papers in many towns, Sorensen became editor of the principal paper in his own district. He was first returned for Parliament in 1887. He is now president of the Liberal Press Union of Denmark.

In the new ministry all sides of the former opposition are so equally and evenly represented that the ministry can hardly fail to be very strong. The appointments are highly popular all over the country.

All the ministers, except Mr. Hage, are sons of the people in every sense. For the first time since 1866, there is a Danish ministry in which not a single large landowner has a portfolio. It is also the first in which a simple farmer has a portfolio. The personnel of the cabinet, indeed, affords the most striking demonstration of the way in which the Danish masses have defeated the Danish classes. Several members of the new cabinet, especially Mr. Christensen, hold prominent positions in the Danish peace societies.

CRISPI: ITALY'S FOREMOST STATESMAN.

BY GIOVANNI DELLA VECCHIA.

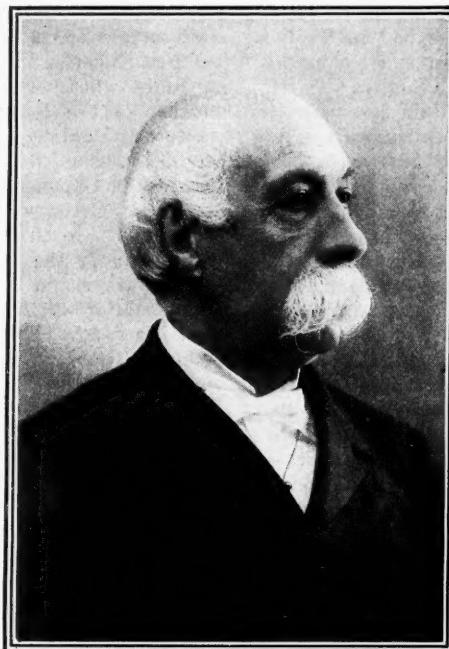
THE nature of Francesco Crispi was so complex that it would be equally possible to make an angel of him, as the late Mr. Stillman did, or a devil, as the late Signor Cavallotti did, but both presentations would be untrue. Crispi was neither the one nor the other. He had the bad and good qualities of a powerful man. His power no one ever denied, though at the same time many disagreed with the use he made of it. He had a very high conception of his own importance and power; many of his countrymen held him in very high estimation, but one can safely say that he thought himself to be above the highest appraisement possible. He was not a man to play second fiddle to any one, and he asserted his own individuality, both with Garibaldi and the late King Humbert. His historic answer, "I am Crispi," fully delineates the man. He was born to be a leader of men, only he was born

too late to lead a generation which had in its midst Cavour, Garibaldi, and Mazzini, and he was born too early to lead the present generation. As a parliamentary hand, he was a very strong and determined leader, but very reluctant to follow another man's guidance. His standard of life was not so pure and untarnished as one might have desired, yet compared with that of some of his opponents who enjoyed a better reputation, his, after all, was the better life. Cavallotti, who fiercely arraigned the aged premier before the nation as an immoral and dishonest man, was not so pure, so moral, and so honest as his fierce denunciation of Crispi seemed to suggest. I knew personally one Italian editor who could not write an article of fifty lines on Crispi without calling him a bigamist a dozen times; and yet this very man, who, by his denunciation of Crispi's im-

morality, appeared to be a man living in a moral atmosphere, had deserted his wife and children and had another woman for wife. I just mention this to show that at least some of the accusers of Crispi were men who had no right to indict him for a moral offense.

Crispi has been the best loved and the most hated statesman of modern Italy. He has had moments of great popularity, during which no one, from the King downward, was greater than he; and he has had moments of strong unpopularity, during which the worst scoundrel appeared to be the better man of the two. There were periods in which Crispi seemed to be the pivot of the national life, and there were also periods in which no one knew or cared to know where Crispi was and what he was doing. Crispi was often compared with Bismarck,—a most fantastical comparison indeed. Were it possible to compare one statesman with

another, the statesman who most nearly approaches Crispi's character is Mr. Chamberlain. In the life of these two statesmen there are many points of a striking similarity. Both went from one extreme wing to the other, both had their mind fixed on the African continent, both had many admirers, many haters, but very few personal friends. Crispi did not care for such, and he was of too superior a nature to make it possible for any one to feel his equal. He was truly loved by many, but their relationship to him was that of admirers toward the object of their admiration. Many of his deadly opponents would have been reckoned among his admirers had he not offended them by his abruptness, or had he petted them when they approached him. He did not fear foes, nor did he flatter friends, as his haughty



THE LATE SIGNOR FRANCESCO CRISPI.

ness did not allow him to do so, and consequently he had a troubulous life.

The name of Crispi has been written in golden letters in the history of Italian independence, and though two opinions are possible both as to his personal character and his ministerial life, as to his patriotism there is but one opinion. He deeply loved his country, though one may say, with Shakespeare, "He loved not wisely, but too well." Before he was twenty he was foremost among the members of the *Giovine Italia*, Mazzini's organization for the redemption of Italy. The house of Bourbon has never had in Sicily a more determined opponent than this young Albanian; because Crispi, though a Sicilian by birth, was an Albanian by race, and in his patriotic aspirations often included the deliverance of Albania from the Turkish yoke. He was a born conspirator, and conspiracy was his natural element. So long as there was a Bourbon to conspire against, all his energies were turned in that direction; then he conspired against the Italian Moderate party and the Italian Republican party, and when in the fullness of time he reached the highest place in the government of the country, he seemed to see everywhere conspirators against him. Events wrought his fortune, but he worked out his own ruin. At the time of the crisis of 1891, a friend of his regretfully stated that Crispi's greatest enemy was Crispi himself; and there was much truth in it, as will be seen later on.

When the revolution of 1848 broke out, Crispi took a prominent part in the overthrowing of the Bourbon sway in Sicily. Reactionary Europe helped the restoration of the house of Bourbon, whose government, however, was soon afterward denounced by Gladstone as "the negation of God."

Crispi had to flee the country, and he went successively to France, to England, to Malta, and lastly to Turin, then called the Mecca of the Italian National party. The ancient capital of Piedmont was then overcrowded with patriots from every part of the country. Crispi, being still under the influence of Mazzini, was precluded from approaching the Cavourian party. Private means he had none, and as a lawyer he could not find work, as there were a multitude of briefless barristers at the time in Turin; and therefore he found that place anything but comfortable. In a moment of despair he applied for the post of town clerk of a village district, to which was annexed the handsome salary of \$140 per annum. His application was not accepted, and well it was for the nation that it was not.

Crispi then turned his attention to his native Sicily. He paid a flying and secret visit to the island, and afterward informed Garibaldi that

the ground was fully prepared for an early insurrection; and Garibaldi, induced by Crispi and Bixio, started, on May 5, 1860, for his immortal campaign. Crispi on that occasion performed a magnificent service. He was Garibaldi's right hand from Genoa to Palermo, where Garibaldi appointed him head of the temporary government under the pro-dictatorate of Depretis. Crispi asserted his power too strongly against the Moderate party, and in a manner to render the constitutional party hostile to him, and this greatly hindered his political career. If he had acted otherwise, most probably he would have had a much earlier ministerial career; and I have no doubt whatever that if Crispi had been a member of the Rattazzi administration, Aspromonte and Mentana would have had a different beginning, or a different result.

In 1860, Cavour was at the highest point of his career, Crispi was but beginning his, yet I am almost sure that if Crispi could have been brought under the influence of Cavour, Crispi's future work would have been much more useful. As a matter of fact, only three years after Cavour's death, Crispi made his historic declaration, "The Monarchy unites us, the Republic would divide us," and thereby he entered the monarchical party. Mazzini did not spare him his thunders, and the friendship between these two old conspirators came to an end.

From 1866 to 1876, Crispi took an active part in the parliamentary discussions as one of the leaders of the opposition. He was then much inclined to personal attacks, and for a better display of the same he started, in 1867, his newspaper, *La Riforma*, in which he accused several members of the ministerial party of corruption. A parliamentary commission was appointed to inquire into Crispi's indictment, and the verdict went, on the whole, against the accuser. Crispi then gave the nation a bad example, which was followed, twenty years afterward, by Cavallotti, and against Crispi and his friends. Another parliamentary commission was appointed, and the accused this time were censured. Therefore, Crispi was struck by the same weapon he himself had wielded against his own opponents.

On March 18, 1876, the Moderate party, which had ruled Italy for sixteen years, was defeated in the House, and the King sent for Depretis, the leader of the opposition. Crispi was left out of the ministerial combination, but Depretis appointed him president of the Chamber, an office of great importance, but with no emolument attached to it. Crispi, poor or rich, always loved a life of great splendor, and as soon as he became president of the Chamber of Deputies he assumed a more princely air. During the parliamentary

holiday of 1877, he traveled in state through Europe, visiting, among others, Bismarck and Gambetta. This presidential journey—unprecedented and never to be followed—attracted, for the first time, the attention of Europe to Italy's rising statesman. He had only just returned to Italy when Giovanni Nicotera, the home secretary, was defeated in the House. Depretis offered that office to Crispi, who accepted on the 23d of December, and two days after, being Christmas Day, he committed, in Naples, the greatest blunder of all his life. On that day he married secretly the lady who ever since has been known as Signora Crispi. Crispi had another wife, known to all Crispi's friends. Morally, it was a bigamous marriage, and an ungrateful act toward the previous wife. It has often been stated that it was Queen Margherita who first discovered that Crispi had suddenly changed his wife, and that she spoke about it to Nicotera, who was a favorite of the court and a rival of Crispi. Nicotera inquired into the matter, and a few days after he published in his paper, *Il Bersagliere*, the full story of Crispi's secret marriage. Crispi had too many enemies to escape punishment, and was compelled to resign in disgrace. No one arose to defend Crispi; the only plea of justification put forward was that Crispi married the new wife in order to legitimatize a girl she bore him fifteen years before. The moral sentence was very severe, and it was not lessened by the fact that the legal sentence was in favor of Crispi. He was acquitted by the court on the following reasoning: "When Crispi married for the third time, his first wife was dead; the second marriage was not legal, because contracted during the lifetime of the first wife, and therefore the third marriage was legal." I am now talking of a matter which twenty-three years ago produced in Italy the greatest commotion possible. Crispi's best friends heartily deplored this marriage, because by it he repudiated a woman who had been his only comfort, help, and support during the long years of his exile, and because she had been his companion during the campaign of 1860, for which she received the medal of the Thousand.

Lina Crispi soon became a power in the state. She knew how to order her husband about. In the winter of 1887, she was at Syracuse; the principal lady there was then the Duchess of Torlonia, wife of the Mayor of Rome. The duchess entirely ignored the wife of the premier, and Donna Lina wired to Crispi asking, so to say, the head of the Duke of Torlonia. Crispi dismissed him under the pretext that he had paid a complimentary visit to the Cardinal-Vicar-General of Rome. Bismarck's wife, Gladstone's wife, Harrison's wife, have been true helpmeets

to their husbands, but Crispi's wife has been his ruin, morally and politically. It is very hard to have to accuse a woman in order to render the aspect of a man's life less ugly, yet there is no other way out of this. The late Mr. Stillman had been a great admirer of Crispi—undoubtedly the most disinterested and enthusiastic of all his admirers—and what he said in his autobiography can be quoted here as the personal testimony of one who has had many opportunities of forming a judgment of the whole situation:

At the reception of the Queen (wrote Mr. Stillman), Signora Crispi, who was really an antipathetic person, had her seat in the royal circle, where she sat as completely ignored by all present as if she were a statue of Aversion. I am convinced that the larger part of animosity shown for Crispi by the better classes in Rome was due to her. On one occasion I heard General — (one of the Thousand) saying to another person, "Poor Crispi, he has not a friend in the world." "Nonsense, he has thousands of friends," replied the other. "No," returned the general; "if Crispi had one friend, he would kill that woman. . . ."

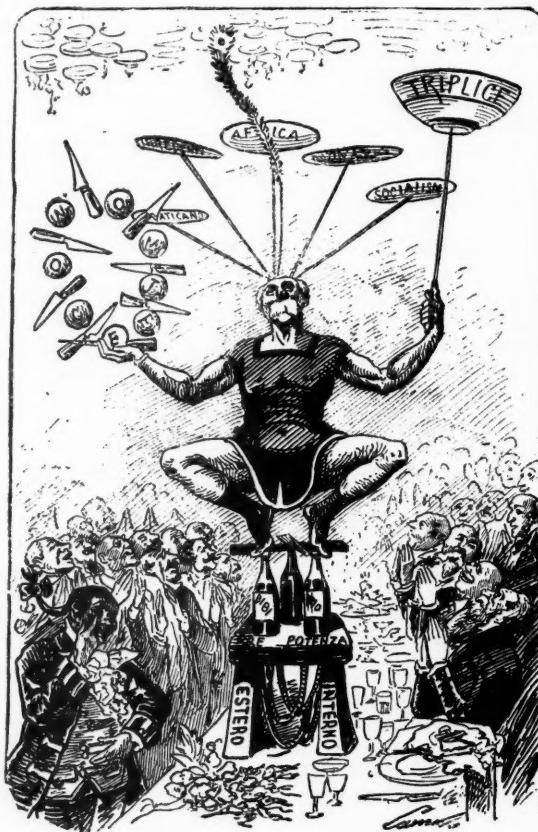
I shall not be surprised to hear that Crispi has died relatively poor. No one ever expected he would die a rich man, as he always had the reputation of spending much more than his income allowed him to do. Under this aspect, Crispi has given his countrymen a very bad example; but the Italians may easily forgive him for this, as in the Italian political world the two feelings which prevail over any other are: forgiveness and forgetfulness. However, the consequences of Crispi's bad example are still noticeable. Crispi's motto could have been the following one—"Money no object," as both in his private life and as a minister he acted upon this principle. Somebody has given to the Italian the following paradoxical axiom: "The more one spends, the more one gets;" and Crispi believed in it. The financial situation of Italy—not always flourishing—has never given Crispi a moment's trouble. His ideal of Italy was a great and powerful country—a country second to none—and by stating this he became popular and was much praised; but I beg leave to say that if the duty of a statesman is to limit the aspirations of the nation to its means and to what is practicable, certainly in the performance of this duty Crispi utterly failed. Again, if the principal characteristic of a statesman is foresight, Crispi has shown himself to be a poor one. He never inquired into the future, he never took counsel from the experience of others, and he attempted things which no other statesman would ever have dreamed of doing; and he failed to achieve ends which statesmen of much less intellectual caliber and vigor

than he could have very easily achieved. But if statesmanship consists chiefly in single-mindedness, determination, and daring, undoubtedly Crispi deserves to be reckoned as one of the greatest statesmen of the nineteenth century. It may be said that he misread the mind of the people, that he miscalculated the resources of the nation, but no one can say that Crispi did not know his own mind and the full extent of his power.

I think it is not possible to judge Crispi fairly without taking into account the special and peculiar conditions at the time when he was intrusted with the administration of the government. He became premier for the first time in 1887. Italy had just passed through a period of great perplexity. Cairoli was deceived in a very cruel way by France concerning Tunis, and Manzini—to repair the blunder committed when Italy refused Lord Granville's invitation to cōoperate with England in Egypt—had embarked in a colonial adventure in the Red Sea. Crispi's mind was well known as to the Tunis affair, and as to Lord Granville's invitation. He would have opposed France in Tunis by any means, or taken Tripoli as a compensation, and he would have accepted Lord Granville's invitation. On these two points the majority of the nation was with him. I was in Rome at the time when Depretis reformed for the last time his ministry and Crispi was called back from his retirement and appointed home secretary. The return of Crispi to power, after nine years of banishment from ministerial life, was hailed with satisfaction by many, as the need of a strong hand at the helm of the state was then much felt, and because it was generally understood that Crispi was going to be Depretis' successor.

Crispi, before accepting office, had a long interview with Depretis, of the details of which I was informed an hour after the interview. The point chiefly discussed was the African colony. Crispi was in favor of the same, but in the north—Tripoli—and not in the east of the African continent. Eventually, Crispi changed his mind as to the Red Sea colony, and in due time became an enthusiast over the same. Depretis died soon after, and Crispi was commissioned by the King to form the new administration. He went to Turin to make his first speech as premier, and he spoke with a vigor that endeared him to all northern Italy; of southern Italy, he was the natural representative. To show the world that Crispi was Crispi, he introduced, like the director of a dramatic company, to the Assembly *his* ministers one by one with a personal complimentary remark for each. The remark which mostly impressed me at the time was the following one: "And this is Agostino Magliani, who has placed the finances of the country on a granite rock." Crispi never

understood finance, never read in the future, or he would have spoken of a foundation of sand instead of a granite rock. Magliani sacrificed the finances of the country to the love of popularity, and a pretty mess he made of them. The way, however, Crispi spoke of *his* ministers was not purely incidental. A month afterward, he made the following statement to Parliament: "Ministers are public functionaries; they are responsible to me, and I answer for them all before the Parliament." The novelty of the thing helped to pass off this constitutional heresy. But be it said to the credit of Crispi that he remained faithful to *his* ministers, and he did not sacrifice any of them to



THE CONJURER.—From *Fischetto*, 1890.

prolong his lease of office. Both Crispi's immediate predecessors and successors when in difficulty did not hesitate to throw overboard the minister who happened to have incurred the displeasure of the opposition, and appointed in his stead a minister selected from the opposition bench. Of this mean trick, Crispi remained guiltless.

Crispi continued in power for over three years. His majority was chiefly composed of the Moderate party, but on one occasion he forgot it, and, being attacked by a member of the same party, insulted the lot; and by losing his temper he lost his premiership, as the majority turned against him and he was left in a minority. Four years afterward, Crispi formed his second and last administration. It has been stated that his recall was due to Bismarck—that the King was against it. Nonsense! Giolitti, Crispi's predecessor, who is, by the way, now again in power, had brought the affairs of the country to such a pitch that it seemed as if a general revolt was near at hand. It was the nation which called Crispi back to power as the only man who could save the situation. In fact, the Italian monarchy has never had, since 1876, a stronger man than Crispi in the defense of public order, and King Humbert always listened to the voice of the nation in choosing a premier. Crispi's second administration came to an abrupt end in consequence of the Italian defeat in East Africa. Crispi, who was morally, if not materially, responsible for this, resigned without waiting for a vote of Parliament, and ever since—March, 1896—he has lived a lonely life, speaking in the House very seldom and on very special occasions, and without taking any part whatever in the political combinations of the day.

Crispi identified himself with the two principal features of King Humbert's reign,—to wit, the Triple Alliance and the Italian colony in Africa. The Triple Alliance was formed long before Crispi was a premier, and did not die with him, yet for a long period of years the Triple Alliance and Crispi seemed to be synonymous. This was because Crispi most unwisely gave to the alliance the character of hostility to France. I happened to be in Rome the day on which Crispi started for his first visit to Bismarck. This visit can be considered as the fundamental mistake of Crispi's foreign policy. Count Robilant told me in London that Bismarck, in 1886, wrote to him expressing the desire of a visit, and that he answered back, "No, thank you." Robilant was a diplomat, and he could see what an effect a visit would have had in France. Count Robilant's successor could not see this, and hence his journey to Friedrichsruhe. I am not judging of this with a posthumous wis-

dom. On the very evening of Crispi's departure from Rome, I wrote for an Italian paper my impressions thereupon, in the course of which I said: "If Crispi does not come back from his visit to Bismarck with the commercial treaty with France signed, Italy will have to pay very dearly for that visit." Before Crispi returned from Germany, the ominous news reached Rome that the French Parliament had refused the treaty with Italy. Undoubtedly, Crispi did not expect this; but surely, if he had wished for such a commercial rupture, he could not have done better than visit France's most hated enemy. In this way Crispi became France's second-best-hated man, and, be it said to Crispi's justification, the more France hated Crispi the greater was his popularity in Italy; and if popular favor may atone for the blunder of the statesman, Crispi's sins have been entirely blotted out by the approval of the nation. Italy was not wiser than her premier, though for years afterward she ruefully deplored Crispi's visit, especially when she perceived the relations with France becoming every day more strained, and in both countries the press was talking of a war as if it were not only possible, but inevitable. In fact, only after Crispi's final retirement did a better feeling begin to prevail in both countries, and ultimately a new Franco-Italian commercial treaty was signed, and the political relations became once more friendly.

The military disaster at Adowah happened when Crispi was premier and in favor of the war against Abyssinia. It has been stated in the Italian Parliament that Barattieri was compelled to give battle unprepared because Crispi had wired him that a victory was wanted to save the government. Anyhow, it has not been put in the records that Crispi ever did anything to prevent Barattieri's folly, and, rightly or wrongly, the nation as a whole charged Crispi with the responsibility of that disaster. On another point Crispi was popular in Italy,—to wit, in his uncompromising attitude toward the Vatican, though if ever the dream of a reconciliation approached the possibility of realization, it was in 1887, under Crispi's first ministry.

Now I must bring this paper to a close. When Crispi resigned, in 1896, hardly a voice was heard in his defense; but the prospect of his disappearance from the world has deeply moved the country and reminded her that her oldest statesman was a man who had taken active part in the insurrection of 1848, who had been in turn the intimate friend of Mazzini and the right hand of Garibaldi, the faithful minister of King Humbert, and who has loved much and suffered accordingly.

A NEW ENGLAND VILLAGE.

BY A SOMETIME VILLAGER.

IN one of the valleys of New England there is a village of possibly two hundred people with the fortunes of which I have been intimately acquainted for nearly half a century. My ancestors were among the very first to settle in that part of the State, and that township; and my family has been closely connected with the community for nearly a century and a half. My nearest living relatives, outside my own personal family, still reside in this village; and I know, and for forty years I have known, nearly every person in the community by face and by name, although it is thirty years since my own home has been elsewhere.

On a recent visit to this rural spot, it occurred to me to walk the entire length of the village street, noting familiar landmarks and the changes which have taken place in the occupancy of the various residences, and recalling these as I first knew them nearly a half-century ago. The results of that morning's walk are given here without comment, simply as a statement of facts and conditions.

At the farther end of the village stands what now remains of a story-and-a-half cottage. In the earlier days, its roof covered a family of six daughters and one son. They were of New England parentage, the blood of the purest strain. One of these daughters went South, became a teacher of note and a woman of extraordinary influence, and is represented to-day by her son—a brilliant graduate of West Point and an army officer of high standing and clean record. A sister followed her outgoing, and, marrying in Pennsylvania, was the mother of a family of unusual attainments, her eldest son being to-day the general manager of one of the great railroad corporations in this country. To another daughter were born two daughters, one of whom was the manager and promoter of the first great department store of Boston; and the other is still a teacher of wide reputation, whose pupils enter Princeton with the best possible preparation in the studies in which she has been their instructor. The son removed to Kentucky, where he became one of the leading business men of the State, always connected with large interests, and always engaged in energetic effort to develop the best resources of the commonwealth. The other children died in early youth. This old home is now a poultry-house, and the old flower garden and kitchen garden are part of the poultry-yard.

As owners and occupants of the next house, I remember a New England bachelor with his maiden sister. They were people of unusual intelligence, very influential in church and civic and social affairs, generous and large-hearted, living helpful lives. The brother died first, leaving his property to his sister; and the sister gave most that she possessed for the endowment of the village church. This house has been modernized, and is occupied by a young American and his wife,—no children,—who owns and controls the mill and wood-working shops on the river near by.

Next, on the left, stands one of the oldest houses in the village and one of the oldest in the State, though still in good repair. When I first came to the village, it was occupied by a gentleman and his wife, with three children, bearing a family name then favorably and widely known. The father recently died in the insane asylum of the State; the mother is certainly on her way there, even if it would not be a kindness to place her there at once. Two of the children died in early youth; and the third led a wild, lawless, reckless life, and is rarely seen about the old town. The house is closed and deserted.

Across the river, and beyond the mill to which reference was just made, stands the home of another of this last family—a cousin. I remember him as a genial, quick-witted, shrewd philosopher,—a typical New Englander in every respect,—wise even beyond his times, and helpful in many ways. His wife, though more quiet, was his full equal. Two sons are still living, and are leading business men in a Western State. The father and mother have died. This house is now occupied by an Irishman and his family. They can read and write—possibly—and are industrious people, and “good enough” citizens—in their way.

The mill fairly holds its own in work and in reputation, though for long years this property lay dormant, if not idle. It has recently revived, however, and may become as important a factor in the life of the community as it once was. But the mill hands are nearly all foreigners; I think there are but two native-born.

Walking eastward, again on the main street, one reaches a somewhat modern cottage, built on the site of a house which I well remember, and which now serves as an ice-house. Out from under the old roof more than one representative

has gone forth to do credit to the family name, and to render good service to the country at large. One became an assistant secretary of the treasury of the United States, most successfully negotiated some of the most important loans ever made by this Government, and in a Western city is proving himself a financier of high standing. This property is now occupied by an Irishman, the foreman of the local railway section ; no children.

Across the way stands an old residence, with a colonial porch and doorway, still sound and even inviting. Fifty years ago, this was the residence of a family each one of which was of more than ordinary ability and won more than ordinary success. One went to California in the early days and became one of the leading attorneys of that State, having much to do with laying the foundations of its constitutional and statutory law. This house now shelters the family of a day-laborer who works on the railway section over which his neighbor opposite is the "boss."

When I first knew the next building, on the left, it was occupied by a young New England couple, the husband then working in the old mill. Since that time, tired of the narrowness of the village life and fretting under the changed conditions of that life, this family has removed to a Western State, where both father and (now) sons and sons-in-law are important, influential men. This house, now in a dilapidated condition, is occupied by an Irish family.

The next dwelling is still quite imposing. It is two full stories, with an unusually large half-story above, and the ground plan is ample in the extreme. It is in good repair, and there is even an air of prosperity about it. A leading physician and surgeon of a Western State comes back occasionally to look at this as his mother's old home. One of the merchant princes of the metropolis brings his wife here at times to recall the days of her childhood. And an influential member of the Legislature of New York counts these as brother and sister. The property is at present occupied by those of New England stock ; but I hesitate to chronicle the change that has taken place in the quality of the strain. It is enough to say that there is no possible prospect of any such future for this family and its descendants as there was for the old.

Just beyond, on the right, is the old home of a man who perhaps made as deep and lasting an impression upon the State and upon its fortunes as any other one man in all its history. This house is occupied to-day by the wife of the last of his kin—herself on the verge of insanity, living alone, a most pitiful object, exciting both the anxiety and the sympathy of the neighborhood.

On the left, again, is a small story-and-a-half cottage the history of which and of its people I know all too well. One son went into the West, where he is now high in official position on one of the great railways, holding the confidence of the entire corporation. A grandson, a university man and specially prepared for his work, is a draughtsman and designer in one of the great shipyards of this country. The second son is an expert workman and successful building contractor. This house is now occupied by a feeble girl, caring for an invalid mother, the father having recently died of softening of the brain ; and a younger son—a grandson of the old stock—has just been placed in the State insane asylum.

In the midst of a beautiful lawn, sheltered by magnificent trees, stands one of the most attractive cottages in the village. The owner, in an earlier day, was the senior warden of the parish ; a large-brained, earnest, thoughtful, generous man. He died some years ago. His wife survived him but a few months. Their only child is an honest, upright, unsuccessful, helpless sort of fellow, largely dependent upon his wife's exertions for his own maintenance. This house is closed, except as it is rented during the summer to people from an adjoining city.

The next house tells the same story of a large family, now scattered to the four winds ; the residence unoccupied, except during the three summer months.

At the next corner, near what the villagers still call "the fork of the roads," is a large residence, once occupied by the village squire and his family. The squire was one of those rare men who only lack opportunity to be truly great and renowned. He was the patron saint of the village,—though not much of a saint after all,—the trusted counselor of all who needed advice, the one man of large financial resources, and the one man of the community who was undertaking various enterprises on a somewhat large scale. Had he lived in the days of the telegraph and the telephone and of electricity, he would have been a capitalist of success and power, and in all probability a statesman of note and influence. None of this family now remains except the aged widow of one of the sons and the widow of a grandson, who occasionally comes up from the city for a short stay during the summer. In place of the old squire and his family is the young widow of a member of one of the lesser families of the village, who maintains herself and her daughters by opening this house during the summer to people from adjoining cities.

Across the village street stands one of the largest and finest residences—again deserted, except during the summer months.

On the right, next to the old-time graveyard, is the village church. I well remember when both floor and galleries were always at least reasonably well filled, and sometimes were crowded. Possibly thirty or thirty-five people gather there for worship, from Sunday to Sunday, at present. Of the one leading family to which reference has already been made, there was a time when thirteen distinct households were represented in these pews. Now there are just two persons of this name who are known upon the parish rolls.

Opposite the church stands the one-time residence of a distinguished lawyer. In later years it has been owned and occupied by a family the members of which have acquired no mean distinction. One of the sons was for years the manager of a water-transportation company, with his office in one of our largest cities. Another, for thirty years held a most prominent place in the pulpit of a great denomination. It is hardly too much to say that for a quarter of a century at least a third dictated the policies of his State, making and unmaking men of national reputation, and more than once touching very closely and decisively great national movements. One grandson is at present a distinguished member of the faculty of one of the largest Western universities. Another grandson has made an enviable reputation in the educational world and in civil life. The sole occupants of this house to-day are two women: one of them past seventy, and the other in middle life, lovingly and unselfishly caring for the latter days of her next of kin.

I remember when the old town hall, adjoining this property, was built. It became at once the center of the common life of the village. On the ground floor was located the village library, the doors of which have been closed for at least twenty years. In the large hall above were given, winter after winter, lectures by some of the best talent of this country. Now, the Young Men's Club of the local Roman Catholic Church gives an occasional exhibition of amateur theatricals; or a wandering "Uncle Tom's" show, with its hounds and *Topsies*, delights the villagers. In the front room of the ground floor, which was once the office of the town clerk and of the justice of the peace, stands a heavy steel cage under the care of the sheriff of the county, who is also a resident of the town,—itself both a symptom and a disease.

The house opposite the little old country inn, once filled to overflowing with children, is now vacant and deserted except during a few summer months.

Passing beyond "the tavern," there still stands

a house, the roof of which once covered a family of more than usual note. One of the sons became a civil engineer, and rose to the very top of his profession. Another removed to a Western State, where he climbed rapidly upward in the practice of the law to a most enviable position in its judiciary. A grandson of unusual brilliancy was for some years the acknowledged leader of his party in the lower house of Congress. This property is now owned by an Irish Catholic and occupied by the families of Irish day-laborers.

On the corner beyond is the old-time residence of one of the leading attorneys of the State, whose word was law before nearly every judiciary of his day, and whose integrity was as unquestioned as his influence was widespread and wholesome. His son became attorney-general of one of the leading Western States, and recently died in full possession of both reputation and power. Not a trace of this family remains. The house is occupied by one who at the expiration of twenty years' residence is still regarded as an alien and a foreigner,—the keeper of a small store in the village.

Still farther on stands the house out of which went an editor of one of the most influential papers of Connecticut. This property is closed and abandoned.

On the right live two maiden sisters, both past middle life, and an old and decrepit aunt, sole remnants of a family once numerous and influential, one brother of which has the honor of having conceived and projected the plans for the first bridge across the Mississippi River.

Next to them lives the village physician, a worthy man of middle age, but not to be mentioned in the same breath with his predecessor, one of the most ingenious and successful practitioners of his day, combining rare surgical skill with remarkable powers of diagnosis and prescription.

In the old frame building just beyond were held all the early town meetings, the first diocesan convention of the Episcopal Church, and many other notable gatherings of notable people. This is occupied by an Irish section-hand.

Out of this village and parish and township have gone men and women who made large contributions to the welfare of the communities of which they became a part. If I did not hesitate to speak more plainly, fearing to make too easy the identification of this once favored spot, I could write of men who have been at the very fore of every profession and in every walk of life; men without whom the continent might not have known its steel bands, the law would have missed much of its higher interpretation and suc-

cessful enforcement, the ministry would have lost no little of its eloquence and administrative power, education would have been deprived of great uplifting forces, great business enterprises would have fallen short of their most successful management, the army would have lost some of its official luster, and the public service would not have known some of its brightest names.

There are a few new houses and some new people, most of them temporary sojourners through only a portion of the year. The population of the village has not increased, and the population of the township has even decreased, during the last half-century.

The village was bitterly Tory during the Revolution, being loyal to the Established Church; was intensely Federal, after; then as ardently Whig; then Republican to the core. To-day, with a large Irish Catholic vote, the issue of an election is at least doubtful. I can recall the time when the New York *Tribune*—"Greeley's Tribune"—was the only paper received at the

village post-office. Now the "yellow journals" hold the palm for circulation and influence.

Then the village was connected with the outer world by stage line only; now not less than ten passenger trains pass it every twenty-four hours, and the telegraph and long-distance telephone master time and space. Then there were no shops nor factories; now it has both. Then there was not a barber shop nor a livery stable in the "street"; now there are two stables and one barber shop. Then not a drop of intoxicating liquor was sold in the village; now there is a bar at the tavern, doing a "good business." Then there was an excellent public school, crowded with pupils, and a good private school besides; now there is an inferior public school only, and that with a scanty attendance.

This is a statement of conditions, not of conclusions; of facts, not of theories. Each may draw his own inference, and read between the lines whatever his own observation or experience elsewhere.

THE MINNESOTA PRIMARY ELECTION LAW.

EXPERIENCE UNDER IT UP TO DATE.

BY A. L. MEARKLE.

IN September, 1900, there was tried in Minneapolis an important experiment in politics. The Minnesota primary election law, passed by the State Legislature during the session of 1899, and called by Senator Washburn "the greatest political proposition ever introduced into American politics," was so worded that its first trial should take place in the largest city of the State, and there alone, with the purpose of bringing to light the merits and defects of the system before it should be applied to the entire State. The general outcome was such that the law, in an amended form, was extended by the last Legislature so as to make the nominations of candidates for all except State offices matters of direct popular choice.

The author of the Minnesota primary election plan, Mr. Oscar F. G. Day, of Minneapolis, claims originality for it in the following particulars:

"1. Concurrent primaries for all parties on one day, under compulsion.

"2. Primary election held on registration day for general election.

"3. Registration machinery used for the election, thus saving expense.

"4. Alternating of positions of names of candidates on ballots, so that every other ticket has names in different locations.

"Add to these features the Australian ballot, almost the same as voted at the general election, and you have the Minnesota primary election plan in a nutshell."

These fundamental features of the law made it an instrument of popular government combining great force with great flexibility. What may be done with it will appear in the future, when it shall be further tried. It is a sincere attempt to reform elections. It is the despair of the "machine" politician. It enables the citizen to express his individual choice in public affairs with a freedom never before known in large political States.

In 1899, two or more rival bills were before the Legislature. Each encountered violent opposition from enemies of reform, besides having the others to fight. Finally, a "compromise bill," preserving the best features of the most radical of them, was drawn up, and this, after being changed so as to apply to one county only, was pushed through on the last day of the session. It was passed as an experiment.

The public at once became deeply interested in the new power placed in their hands, and ample information was given, through the newspapers and otherwise, regarding the provisions of the law and the way to comply with them. The law itself embodied all the details involved, even to the form in which the ballots were to be printed, the space to be allowed each name, the shape and size of the spaces left for the X of the voter. The tickets were to be made up of names previously approved by a certain number of voters, upon petitions circulated on behalf of the candidates and placed in the county auditor's hands not later than twelve days before the date fixed for the primary election, the interval allowing time for the printing and distribution of the ballots. The entire ballot, including margins, was only eighteen inches long.

The primary election took place on the first of the three registration days required by law to precede the general election, the date being, in 1900, September 18. After duly registering as a qualified elector in his precinct, the voter received the Republican and Democratic ballots, pinned together; he was told that he could vote but one of the two (no other parties presented candidates for nomination on this occasion), and the ballots themselves showed the number of candidates to be nominated for each office. He stepped into a booth such as are furnished for voting at the general elections. A few seconds only were needed to select from the list the names he desired to vote for, and the X made, his task was done. Stepping from the booth, he handed the two ballots, still pinned together and folded, to one of the election judges, who deposited them in a ballot-box.

Instead of the concurrent primary, with its 125 candidates, proving cumbersome and impracticable, it was most simple and expeditious. The voting proceeded even more rapidly than at a general election. Nearly the entire vote of the city turned out to take part in the primary, and yet the first district to make its return did so only two hours after the poll closed. The fact that made this rapid voting possible is one it would be hard to rejoice over too much. The voter was intelligent. He knew before seeing the tickets which one he was going to vote, and what names on his ticket he should select; because, having been aware that he could take part in the nomination, he had seen and heard the candidates or knew their record, and had formed decided preferences. And it was to the candidate's interest that the voter should cast an intelligent, as well as a free and secret, ballot.

The immediate results of the primary were unforeseen. There had been an idea that, at all

events, a popular vote would keep to party lines, and would establish beyond a doubt who were the "favorite sons" of each political family. The outcome was different from that anticipated; but it left no doubt as to one thing, at least,—namely, that under the new law people can and will nominate whom they choose. This fact was forced home upon the politicians. They recognized it as a menace to their interests. They raved of amendments and maundered of repeal. Mr. Washburn said: "I have heard many complaints about the new law, but if you will notice, they have a general source in the professional political manipulator, to whom its provisions are not advantageous."

An instance where the people broke over the lines laid down by party managers was in their choice for judge of probate, an important office that ought to be safe from the machinations of party. Two years is the probate judge's term of office. A good judge might hope for a second term; but, under the old system, he might on no account be allowed to aspire to three. Judge Harvey was nominated by the people for a third term. A number of similar cases might be cited. In general, where former incumbents were renominated, they were good men for the office; where they were displaced, their opponents were, as a rule, better men.

The fostering of the Scandinavian vote has long been a feature of party politics in Minnesota. Scandinavians form a numerous element in Minneapolis, and they usually receive their full share of representation on the Republican ticket—the one that counts on their support. Swedish and Norwegian candidates for nomination at the primary of 1900 were plentiful on both tickets, and the majority of Republican votes for one of the best-paying offices were carried by a Norwegian, the former incumbent; but many more failed of nomination. The Republican ticket, as finally made up for the general election, showed fewer names of that nationality than would have been thought necessary under the old system. This fact indicates that the Scandinavians did not vote as a unit at the primary and are less clannish than was supposed; also, that the new law tends to do away with the fostering by parties of race or class feeling—a tendency to be commended. Popular nomination will keep good officers in their places and dispense with bad ones, as a rule, regardless of the principle of rotation in office and others equally dear to politicians.

The election was admitted to be a fair one, and to express the people's choice. The tickets, as finally made up, were not what they would have been if the nominations had been made in the old

way. In general, those candidates favored by the machine were not chosen by the people. In particular, the Republican nominee for mayor "would never have been nominated by a convention." He was afterward elected, and he has not justified the expectations of those Republicans who voted for him—reluctantly—as not unlikely to make a pretty good mayor after all. And those who opposed the primary law all along point triumphantly to the fact that this man was able to get the nomination under it as proving the law a bad one.

Probably no conceivable political situation could better have brought out the salient features of the law than did the candidacy of Dr. Albert A. Ames for nomination for the mayoralty. Dr. Ames has for many years carried with him a certain devoted following into whatever political camp he chose to enter. Twenty-five years ago he was elected mayor of Minneapolis as an independent Republican. In 1882, having joined the Democrats, he was elected to the same office. His administration was characterized by serious faults; but still it was said, when he came up for renomination two years later, that he "had hosts of friends among the Republicans." He was nominated, but lost the election through disaffection in the Democratic ranks. The next term of two years he served as mayor for the third time. In 1898, he ran again as an independent candidate on the merits of his former administrations, obtaining about 5,000 votes; and previous to the primary election of 1900 he formally declared his intention to return to his first love, and said, "I will bring those 5,000 people with me into the Republican party." His personal popularity got him the required number of names for his petition, and the direct concurrent primary—with its distinctive feature, the secret ballot—enabled him to secure the nomination, though out of favor with both parties as such. His majority at the primary election over the candidate favored by recognized Republican leaders was about 20 per cent. The general opinion was that "the Democrats did it;" and great was the blame heaped upon the primary law, which, it was said, made it possible for one party to nominate the candidates of the other.

At that time the mayor was a Democrat. His renomination was considered certain, but a clique of his party desired his defeat. The theory was that just enough Democrats voted for him to insure his nomination, while the rest, in two battalions, invaded the Republican lines,—one bent on putting up Ames because Gray could beat him, the other because he could beat Gray. The former counted on the animosity toward Dr. Ames of old-line Republicans; the latter, on his

popularity with Gray Democrats. No more humorous situation was ever devised by dramatic genius. In Minneapolis, the above explanation was regarded as the sober truth, but Republicans through the State discredited it. However, the Republican party leaders were forced to accept Ames, nominated by Democrats or not, as the people's choice. This showed most unequivocally how powerful an instrument of popular government was the new primary law.

The Ames affair has been very damaging to the law in the minds of persons who cannot distinguish between a necessary and an incidental consequence. In connection with the grand jury's recent arraignment of the administration, the matter has been fully aired, and has been misconstrued, where the Minnesota primary plan is under consideration, as arguing gravely against the law, or at least against the concurrent primary and the secret ballot. But these are the very features of the law which, by placing the power of free choice in the voter's hands, most damage the "machine." Politicians have fought these from the first, and the present embarrassing state of things in the mayor's office is not the cause of their opposition. When the Legislature, at its last session, so amended the law as to make it apply to all cities having over fifty thousand population, it did not neglect this important point, but further amended it by abolishing the peculiarity of the law which made possible a popular choice unhampered by party surveillance. The voter being now required to declare his affiliation with some one party, and his intention to support its candidates at the next general election, and being allowed to vote the primary ticket of that party and no other, the law has unfortunately become an instrument adaptable to the necessities of party politics, and it is difficult to see on what its success as an election reform now depends. A popular nomination may not be a wise one in a particular instance, but certainly one bad administration does not prove democracy a failure. To change such a fundamental feature of the law is to change the law itself from the admirable instrument of popular expression it was originally into a more or less rigid party weapon. Its faults were the faults of popular government, and no imaginable plan of popular government could prevent occasional mistakes.

A concurrent primary is a primary of all parties, at the same time and place, with but one ballot-box for receiving all the votes, the same judges, and the same machinery altogether. Voters of all parties step into the same booths, provided with the primary tickets of all the parties, and when they have voted, all are returned to the judge and deposited in the box without being

opened. There is no possible way of distinguishing between "Democrats" and "Republicans" at a concurrent primary. And such being the case, the compulsory concurrent primary election is almost as radical a reform as the Australian balloting system, and it is almost as violently opposed by party managers. It should be a feature of every primary law aiming at reform.

Another advantage peculiar to the Minnesota plan is economy of time and expense, the machinery of the usual registration being used for the primary election. Under the old caucus system, the voter who attended a nominating convention must spend two or three hours; but the direct primary takes only ten or fifteen minutes of his time. The minimum expense is secured by having the election take place on a regular registration day.

The impartial arrangement of the candidates' names on the ballot—a third peculiarity of the Minnesota plan—gives each a just share of the advantage gained by being first on the list for any office. The order is changed, by a simple device in the process of printing, as many times as there are names of candidates for any office. On the Republican ticket, last September, there were nine names for register of deeds. The top name went to the bottom eight times, this being done without taking the forms from the press; and after the required number of tickets were printed, and previous to being blocked and cut, they were arranged so that the names should alternate as the judges tore them off the blocks. Thus no candidate had an undue advantage.

Would it be an improvement to have but one ticket? At first sight it seems so. An ideal popular primary would do away with parties altogether. One day, one place, one vast gathering of the clans, one ticket or none at all, every man free to name the candidate of his choice. This is logical democracy,—government by the people, the whole people, no one but the people! But none except the wildest dreamer could contemplate such a primary election without seeing how it would immediately fall a victim to its own vastness. The cumbrousness of it, the immense waste of time both in casting and in counting the ballots, the chances it would give to "bosses," traders, and bribers, would cause it to degenerate at once into just such a caucus as those with which we are now too familiar. There must be a certain degree of order, a certain amount of organization. Party, too, stands for principles dear to the average voter. Parties are a result of evolution, and the time to do without them is not yet. If ostensibly excluded from the primary, they would still be present in spirit.

Party division, however, is the only arbitrary

feature of the Minnesota primary law. If the alleged evil results of the recent election are to be laid to the law, it is this feature, and not the secret ballot, that should be blamed. You can't vote for the best men on both tickets, said the law; you need not tell which ticket you vote, but you must vote only one. Without such restrictions a popular choice would at once have been recognized as such, and no trickery, such as the Democrats are credited with in the case of Ames, would have been suspected, because there would have been room for none. To try to remedy the defects of the law by replacing a minimum of restriction by a maximum, by substituting for the concurrent secret ballot "direct primaries under partisan auspices," is manifestly absurd.

The law ought to have had another trial before being touched. If capable of base uses, it is certainly less so than the old caucus system. It might have been productive of regeneration in politics. If adopted in other States in its original form, its working should be watched with the above-indicated tendencies in view,—namely, to bring about true popular government and abrogate machine politics, to do away with frequent and mechanical rotation in office, to break up the rigidity of parties. As amended,—that is, minus the feature of secret balloting unrestricted by declared party affiliation,—it will receive a trial in the spring of 1902 in St. Paul, a city nearly as large as Minneapolis and hitherto notoriously under the control of a political ring. It will be most interesting to see whether the same tendencies are again manifested, and whether the law as it now stands is equal, as a means for reforming municipal politics, to the original plan as tried in Minneapolis.

Who oppose such a law, and why, is clear. Wherever one is introduced, party manipulators and politicians of every degree will oppose it, because their chance at the spoils depends on conditions which it is the tendency of the direct primary to revolutionize. Previous to the passage of the act in Minnesota, it was extremely difficult to interest the people of the State in it. Now that it has been once tried, the people of the entire country are interested. Many districts in other States are returning to their legislatures representatives pledged to support such a law. Some radical election reform is an imperative need of the time. The selection of candidates by popular vote instead of by a party machine will at least abate the power of the machine, and with it the worst evils of city politics. If it should be generally adopted in this country, our form of government, from being imperfectly representative, would become truly popular throughout.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

THE GREAT FINANCIER, J. P. MORGAN.

MR. J. PIERPONT MORGAN is a figure not very open to the public eye, and, considering the immense amount of interest in the personality of the powerful man of affairs, it is rather extraordinary that the periodicals have failed to present any sketch of him which bore the mark of authenticity and which included the details of his career comprehensively. The best effort we have seen to describe this figure, so mighty in the world of industry and finance, is that contributed to the October *McClure's* by Mr. Ray Stannard Baker. Mr. Baker gives an idea of the almost unprecedented power wielded by this one financier, whose life is so precious to investors that English brokers have been insuring themselves at Lloyd's against his death, paying premiums of thirty pounds on the thousand for three months. Mr. Morgan has organized the most powerful industrial and financial institution the world has ever known. "It matters not whether he was a large owner in the United States Steel Corporation; as its recognized and actual dictator, he controlled a yearly income and expenditure nearly as great as that of imperial Germany, paid taxes on a debt greater than that of many of the lesser nations of Europe, and by employing 250,000 men, supported a population of over 1,000,000 souls—almost a nation in itself."

OF OLD NEW ENGLAND STOCK.

Mr. Baker calls attention to the fact that very much of our wealth belongs to men sprung from the oldest American families. Miles Morgan, the first of that name, landed in New England in 1636. Mr. Joseph Morgan, grandfather of J. Pierpont Morgan, was a farmer and tavern-keeper in Hartford, Conn., with a Revolutionary War record. Joseph Morgan left his son, Julius Spencer, a good property on Asylum Hill, Hartford, and Julius Spencer rose from a bank clerk to a partner in the dry goods business of Levi P. Morton, was later an associate of the millionaire philanthropist, George Peabody, and finally established a successful banking house in London, with branches in America and Australia. He married Juliet Pierpont, the daughter of the Rev. John Pierpont, poet and preacher. Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan was born April 17, 1837, in Hartford, Conn. In 1851, his father moved to Boston, and the son graduated from the Boston High School at eighteen, and studied thereafter for two years in Germany. His school life was not par-

ticularly brilliant. At the age of twenty-one he embarked on his career as a banker, learned the complicated mechanism of foreign exchange in his father's house, and then was sent to London.

HIS CAREER AS A BANKER.

In 1860, at the age of twenty-three, young Morgan became the American agent for George Peabody & Co. At twenty-seven he helped organize the firm of Dabney, Morgan & Co. In 1871, he formed a combination with the wealthy



MR. J. PIERPONT MORGAN.

Drexels, of Philadelphia, the firm being known as Drexel, Morgan & Co. In 1895, Drexel, Morgan & Co. became J. P. Morgan & Co., and Mr. Morgan's father having died in 1890, the New York, London, and Paris houses all came under the dictatorship of J. P. Morgan.

Mr. Morgan is of necessity an absolute dictator in any concern he actively works with. His firm is a private bank, owned by partners. There are eleven partners besides Mr. Morgan, most of them men of the first rank, though all are under the influence of their chief.

Mr. Morgan is not a railroad man, an iron-

master, nor is he a speculator or railroad-wrecker. He is primarily a banker—a worker in money. Great holders of capital trust him to invest their funds, and with this financial power he is enabled to buy out steamship lines, reorganize railroads, or obtain an influence in their management. It is of the first necessity that Mr. Morgan should have unexampled good judgment, and it is also of the first necessity that he should be absolutely honest. Wall Street generally attributes his prominence in the world of finance to the fact that he keeps his word and is a gentleman in business dealings.

SOME "MORGAN COMPANIES."

"Besides his own private banking house here and its branches abroad, Mr. Morgan largely controls a powerful national bank in New York City—the National Bank of Commerce, of which he is the vice-president. It is known in Wall Street as 'Morgan's Bank.' He is a dominating influence in other banks and financial institutions, and a director never without much influence in twenty-one railroad companies, great and small, including the New York Central and Lake Shore systems. He is a director in the Western Union Telegraph Company, the Pullman Palace Car Company, the Aetna Fire Insurance Company, the General Electric Company—the greatest electric company in the world—and in other less important corporations. And through his partners, who are directors in other railroad and steel corporations, his influence reaches far and wide. He is a potent, and in times of trouble the controlling factor in several of what are known as the 'coal roads' of Pennsylvania—the Erie, the Lehigh Valley, the Central of New Jersey, and the Reading, together with their tributary coal fields. He is the predominating influence in the Southern Railway and in three of its connections, the foremost railroad system of the Southern States, with over eight thousand miles of track, a system which he has created, and of which an associate and friend is president. He is also a power in many other railroads, as witness his recent appointment of the directors of the Northern Pacific Railroad and his evident influence through J. J. Hill in the Burlington and Great Northern management. And, as I have already said, he is at present practically dictator of the vast steel interests of the country, through the United States Steel Corporation, and he controls at least one Atlantic steamship line.

HIS PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

"Mr. Morgan impresses one as a large man, thick of chest, with a big head set close down on burly shoulders, features large, an extraordi-

narily prominent nose, keen gray eyes, deep-set under heavy brows, a high, fine forehead, a square, bull-dog chin. His hair is iron-gray and thin, and his mustache is close-cropped. For a man of his age and size, he seems unusually active, moving about with almost nervous alertness. He is a man of few words, always sharply and shortly spoken. When a man comes to him, Mr. Morgan looks at him keenly, waiting for him to speak first, and his decision follows quickly.

MR. MORGAN'S HOBBIES AND CHARITIES.

"Business by no means absorbs all of Mr. Morgan's energy. Perhaps his first interest outside of his work is his enthusiasm as a collector of works of art. He is the possessor of many famous paintings, and is interested in rare china, Limoges ware particularly. As evidences of his taste he has gathered and presented a collection of fabrics to Cooper Union, of rare gems to the American Museum of Natural History, of Greek ornaments to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Yachting is his diversion, and he superintended the building of his steam-yacht *Corsair* in every detail. For a long time he was commodore of the New York Yacht Club, to which he recently presented the land for a new clubhouse. After a hard siege at business, Mr. Morgan goes for a cruise, and it is related that he often takes with him a mass of papers, and that when his friends look for him he is to be found below deck buried deep in figures, utterly oblivious to his surroundings. Fond of a fine dinner, a connoisseur in wines, and a judge of cigars, he is temperate in all these. Caring little for society, he occasionally enjoys a quiet party, and may warm into talkativeness, though never on business subjects. Any one who has seen him at the dinners of the New England Society knows that he enjoys them. There he will sometimes join in the singing, but it is very rarely that he makes a speech. None of his few intimate friends are among his business associates. The outward mark of esteem which Mr. Morgan bestows upon a man is to present him with a collie dog from the kennels of his country home. A member of many clubs, he is too busy to be much of a club man, but he has always been a church-goer, and what is more, a church worker, being a vestryman of St. George's Church, in Stuyvesant Square, and the unfailing friend and helper of its rector, the Rev. Dr. Rainsford. He has taken especial interest in the boys of the church, has helped devise means to keep them off the street and to teach them trades, and sometimes he attends the evening sessions of their club and talks to them. Two of his known philanthropies have been the establishment, at a cost of over five hundred thousand

dollars, of the now well-known New York Trade School in the upper east side of New York, and the founding of a smaller trade school in connection with St. George's Church.

"Mr. Morgan has also given to Harvard University for the Medical School \$1,000,000; for a great lying-in hospital near St. George's Church, \$1,350,000; for St. John's Cathedral, \$500,000; for help toward paying the debts of the Young Men's Christian Association, \$100,000; for the Loomis Hospital for Consumptives, some five hundred thousand dollars; for a library in Holyoke, Mass. (his father's birthplace), \$100,000; for preserving the Palisades along the Hudson River, \$125,000; for a new parish house and rectory for St. George's Church, \$300,000. He also contributed largely to the Queen Victoria memorial fund and to the Galveston relief fund; he presented St. Paul's Cathedral in London with a complete electric plant, and built a hospital at Aix-les-Bains, France."

THE PIRACY OF A FRANCHISE CORPORATION.

IN the October *Atlantic Monthly*, Mr. R. R. Bowker gives with remarkable detail and undoubted authenticity the history of the Edison Electric Illuminating Company, and the extraordinary manipulation of stocks and bonds and securities which finally brought the property into the hands of the single group of men who now control two great corporations commanding all the surface-railway facilities in New York, and its entire supply of gas and electricity. Mr. Bowker, who was vice-president and active executive of the Edison company from 1890 to 1899, says these two great corporations represent an actual outlay well within \$125,000,000; the systems could be replaced to-day, probably, for less than \$100,000,000, while their nominal capitalization, share and loan, excluding securities of consolidated companies held in the treasury of the controlling company, is over \$300,000,000, and the market value of their securities above \$400,000,000. The enormous difference between cost and market value represents roughly, though not actually, the value of the franchises "promoted" out of the people's possession into private pockets,—the larger part not of those whose foresight, investment, and skill have developed the present facilities, but of those who, with the double leverage of politics and financing, have become possessed, in recent years, of these franchise privileges. Mr. Bowker proceeds to tell the story of how the leading electric corporation was captured by the gas interests, and finally how, in the year passed, both of these enterprises, together with the entire street railway

systems of New York, have come under the same control.

TAXING THE FRANCHISE VALUE.

"It should be fully conceded that pioneers in industrial progress, who take large risks in the service of the public, are entitled to large profits, and that good service is entitled to good returns. But the pioneer work and the great risks of electric railways, in city or country, of gas and electric lighting, and of other public utilities, are matters of the past, and there is no longer semblance of justification for a condition of things through which promoters can, by manipulation of the market, put into their private pockets within a few months the great part of the value of a public franchise. Nothing, in fact, is so evident an example of the 'unearned increment' as a franchise value, and the recognition of this has led to such legislation as the franchise-tax act, the Ford bill, passed by the New York Legislature in 1899, which classes franchise privileges with real estate and subjects public-utility corporations to the same tax rate upon their franchises as upon their physical property. For 1901, the New York State Board of Tax Commissioners have valued the Metropolitan Street Railway franchise at \$50,890,112, and that of the Third Avenue line at \$16,370,285,—together, \$67,260,397; and the Manhattan Elevated franchise at \$44,407,500. The gas franchise of the Consolidated company proper is valued at \$13,990,000, the Mutual franchise at \$2,300,000, the Standard at \$3,075,520, and the New Amsterdam at \$4,127,500,—together, \$23,493,020; the original Edison franchise at \$6,202,250, and those of the power company otherwise at \$1,883,330,—together, \$8,085,580; giving, for the gas and electric franchises in Manhattan, \$31,578,600, not including the two subway franchises, valued together at \$6,395,200. Here is a total of \$105,000,000 valuation of the Metropolitan-Consolidated franchises, on which a tax of $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. is levied, as against a capitalization, share and loan, exceeding \$300,000,000, for which an earning power of 4 to 8 per cent. is claimed, giving a market value much above \$400,000,000, and of which scarcely more than a third of the capitalization or a quarter of the market value is investment in physical properties.

CHARTER VIOLATIONS IN NEW YORK.

"These figures suggest that a large part of the 'unearned increment' is yet to be reached by taxation or otherwise recovered for the people. The exercise, in behalf of the superior interest of the people, as represented by the municipality, which is the agent of the sovereign State, against

corporations occupying the streets of the right of eminent domain, with just but not inflated compensation, the right which has been used to condemn private property for corporate use, though it may prove useful as a last resort, seems scarcely necessary. In New York City, the subway companies and several of the railway lines are under specific obligations to surrender their properties to the city on a valuation, or for a reasonable advance upon cost; and in many cases corporation managers have so far exceeded their charters, even to the extent of violating their provisions by engaging in business which they have no right to do, or seizing upon street privileges to which they have no legal claim, as to, render themselves amenable to such serious penalties as would make an arrangement with the city the preferable course. The hint of the Chicago commission, that every extension of franchise privileges should be made a means of reacquiring proper control of the franchises already granted, should have effective application in New York under an honest and enlightened municipal government.

STOCK-MANIPULATION IN NEW YORK.

"The New York corporation laws forbid overcapitalization, by requiring that stock shall be issued at par for cash or for property only, and that bonds shall not be issued in excess of the amount of stock; that is, that the mortgage on corporation property shall not exceed the amount paid for the property. But the valuation of the directors cannot be questioned, nor can they be held responsible for it, except in case of evident fraud. It has become a common practice to reverse this theory of the law by issuing stock for property really purchased with an equivalent amount of bonds. This stock, issued to the full extent of the earning power, as is justified by the decision of the Court of Appeals in the Western Union Telegraph case, and paid by the promoters to themselves, gives them control of the property for which the bondholders have really paid, and becomes, less the organization tax and like necessary charges, the fee or profit of the promoters. A public schedule of the properties for which stock is issued, perhaps with specific valuations by sworn official experts, seems necessary to make the present corporation laws effective; and this should be supplemented by yearly reports of the acquisition of properties, and by full publicity of the accounts of public-utility corporations. The fact that the stock of the Consolidated Gas Company ranged, in 1897, between 241 and 136, and that of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company, in 1899, between 269 and 147, shows how uncertain to investors

and how dangerous in the market are securities of this class when the real facts of the situation can be concealed, and when capitalization, bond issues, and dividends are at the beck of speculative promoters, whose interests may be at one time on the 'bear' and at another time on the 'bull' side of the properties which they are supposed to direct in the interests of the stockholders. In the railway development of the last generation, the capitalization of new railways by issuing bonds for the money actually paid, and preferred stock and common stock in equal amounts in expectancy of adequate earning power, has proved a sowing of the wind from which this generation—especially the small investor and the proverbial widow and orphan—has reaped the whirlwind harvest of railway reorganization, profiting only, in enormous fees, the bankers who, with the scalpel of the financial surgeon, cut down the inflated securities to a basis of real value. The speculative promoter who has turned from the general railway field to that of municipal utilities has found his opportunity in procuring franchises without compensation, or in buying up, under compulsion, franchise properties already developed, in capitalizing these to their potential earning power, and from this increase of capitalization realizing his profit."

THE TREND TOWARD ANARCHY.

THE current number of the *Presbyterian Quarterly* (Charlotte, N. C.) contains a discussion of present anarchistic tendencies in this country from the pen of the Rev. E. C. Gordon, D.D. This article is interesting as giving a representative Southerner's views on the dangers now confronting the American people. Dr. Gordon says, in part:

"The trouble is not so much that flagrant, horrid, outbreaking crimes are committed by bad men in ever-increasing numbers. This is to be expected. The portentous facts are that good men, honorable men, men highly esteemed by their neighbors, disregard the law when they are, or when they think they are, sustained by public opinion; that the officers of the law, men paid to execute the law, men who have sworn to do this, in many circumstances are indifferent to its execution; nay, more, they connive at its persistent violation, and boldly declare that they have no intention of seeing to the execution of the law unless public opinion forces them to perform their duty. Here may be mentioned the growing practice of lynching, which unless speedily checked will become a very serious menace to the welfare of the country. A rare case of lynching,

under exceptional and peculiarly trying circumstances, however much it might be deplored, would not excite alarm. But when it becomes common for mobs to execute criminals, real or supposed, without any legal process, the practice must be regarded as a symptom of a lawless temper, marking a most ominous trend toward anarchy. In no other way can the facts be accounted for. Neither race prejudice, potent as it is, nor the desire to shield women from the witness-stand in cases of rape, nor both combined, account for the increase of lynching. The practice now extends to every species of crime, to criminals real or alleged of every race. It is fast becoming an orgy of lawlessness, a fierce expression of the passions of men who regard themselves as sovereigns, responsible for their beliefs and doings only to themselves. These manifestations of lawlessness are all the more ominous because the masses of the people remain indifferent to them, whether made by individuals, or by officials or by mobs, except as some event or series of events, more than commonly shocking, arouses them temporarily from their habitual unconcern."

CAUSES OF POPULAR INDIFFERENCE.

Regarding this attitude of indifference to lawlessness on the part of a people who as a race are law-abiding, Dr. Gordon says:

"Unquestionably, this attitude is partly due to the absorption of the people of this country in creating wealth and in enjoying the comforts and luxuries of a splendid material civilization. As long as any one can make money and enjoy spending it in safety, he is willing for the world to wag on its way, for officials to disregard their oaths, for mobs to execute criminals, for men to cheat the law if they can. He is not altogether unwilling to do this last himself, if he can at the same time avoid losing his social position and the esteem of his fellows.

"Undoubtedly, this temper so tolerant of lawlessness is partly due to an optimistic spirit born of an inordinate national self-esteem. As a people we have infinite confidence in our ability to manage ourselves and all the world besides. We are so sure that whenever we get ready we shall be able to suppress mobs, to reform municipal corruption, to make everybody law-abiding, that we fail to see how serious the situation is, and to appreciate the truth that the time may come when a strict enforcement of law will not be so easy as it now appears to be,—when we shall be face to face with the dread alternatives, Anarchy or Despotism."

The cure for all this is to be found in a return to the principle of obedience—in family, church, and State.

THE PRICE OF POLICE PROTECTION IN NEW YORK.

IN the October number of *McClure's* appears another chapter of Josiah Flynt's revelations of Tammany customs and manners, in "The Tammany Commandment,"—a record of actual conversations with keepers of "dives" in New York City, most of whom were once notorious criminals. The chapter as a whole gives a pretty full exposition of the system of police protection of vice and crime existing in New York, as understood by those protected. Josiah Flynt's guide, philosopher, and friend assured him that the town was worse than it was in Tweed's time. Mr. Flynt gives some figures, presumably authoritative, bearing on the details of the protection given to gamblers and saloon-keepers so much discussed of late in New York. As to the profits of the professional gamblers, Josiah Flynt says that every gambler he found, except one, seemed to be in comfortable circumstances, although the daily expense for the most modest pool-room was eighty dollars. One of the proprietors said he got very distinct orders when to close his place.

"In the upper part of the city there is a man who is rated 'right,' and yet does not pay a cent of protection money for the privilege of keeping his 'hotel' open after hours. Jim unearthed him, and thinks that he knows the secret of the man's immunity from the police tax.

"'He's what you call a good fellow,' he explained. 'He spends his money freely, hobnobs with the police, and is a big lusher. He's also a bit strong about election time.'

"'Hobnobbing with the police, if it costs money, is merely another way of "giving up" to them,' I replied.

"'If you want to look at it in that way, perhaps it's so, but the idea is that the man don't hand out any envelope; he ain't taxed—see?'

"The bulkiest envelope that I know about is reported to contain \$125. It is said to come from a place licensed as an hotel. Doubtless there are larger contributions than this one, but \$25 and \$50 envelopes seem to be in the majority. The envelopes go almost invariably to the police, and I consequently place them first in the list of those who 'win out' obeying the Tammany Commandment. There are a few very successful politicians who have arrived at greater prominence and taken in more financial 'scale' than any individual member of the police department; but, numerically speaking, the police seem to me to take first honors in the race for the money which belongs to those who understand how to be 'right.' Take, for example, a certain detective who receives \$1,300 salary a year.

Some friends of mine spent several nights in his company a year or so ago, and he insisted on paying practically all the expenses of the 'outing.' His reason for doing this, if I am correctly informed, was that he desired to show my friends, who were from the provinces, that his 'graft' was so immense that he could afford to settle all bills that were presented. Indeed, he made a point of assuring my friends that they had no such 'graft' as his, and, consequently, why should they spend their money? The time comes in the life of such a man when his 'graftings,' or rather discreet advertising of their size, please him as much as the hard earnings of honest toil delight the struggling laborer; and he loses no opportunity to notify fellow-'grafters,' or what he takes to be such, how well he is doing.

"The gamblers come next to the police, I think, in making money out of being 'right.' Until comparatively recently, they have been very numerous in New York, and there is no doubt that their 'graft' has been large. Just at present they are keeping rather quiet, but the probability is that they will show their hand again in no unmistakable manner before many weeks are passed. They not only make a great deal of money themselves, but they help the police to make money also, and companions of this character are hard to keep down.

"Next to the gamblers comes the army of dive-keepers. As in the case of the gamblers, these people are not doing as well now as they did before the reformers got after them, but they are natural winners at all times when the Commandment can be openly obeyed. I have heard a number of them complain recently about the bad business that was being done, and some have articulately wondered whether it was not an opportune moment to get out of 'the trade'; but the majority mean to hang on until 'right' times return again."

THE FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

M R. E. B. IWAN-MÜLLER contributes to the *Fortnightly Review* an article on the settlement of South Africa which is interesting on many grounds. Mr. Iwan-Müller, who is writing a "Life of Lord Milner," with whom he appears to have lived in considerable intimacy in Cape Town, pleads in favor of an early federation. He is all for federation first and local government afterward. He says:

"My firm belief is, that unless a scheme of federation precedes the reestablishment of local parliaments in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, we shall never get a satisfactory scheme of federation at all."

He would begin with federation, which, he points out, would have many practical advantages not possessed by the crown-colony system which Mr. Chamberlain favors:

"One great advantage of establishing a strong and loyal federal parliament is that it will secure uniformity of policy throughout the whole of South Africa. Such a consummation can hardly be effected by a system of crown-colony government, however intelligently administered. Still less can it be accomplished by a maintenance of a principle of coequal and coördinate governments, which in regard to the greater proportion of important questions would be independent of the imperial executive."

In his scheme of federation he would make the senate the governing body, apparently for what seems to him the good and sufficient reason that if you cut Cape Colony into two, and give each colony the same number of members, it would be possible to secure a permanent anti-Dutch majority in the senate. The analogy of the American constitution is invoked, in order to justify giving each colony equal representation in the senate, regardless of its comparative importance or the numbers of its population. The following frank admission is worth while remembering:

"In a chamber in which the two races were represented in approximately equal numbers, it would be safe to back the Dutch to secure and retain a determining voice."

It is, therefore, necessary to gerrymander the constituencies, or to adopt some other method by which the Dutch may be permanently deprived of the equal rights to secure which was the pretext upon which the war was begun. Mr. Iwan-Müller says:

"If, then, we had made our second chamber the controlling power in the federation, we might reasonably assume that East Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, and Rhodesia would send forty English representatives to the senate, while West Cape Colony and the Orange River Colony would send twenty Dutch members. If the constituencies for the second chamber were mapped out on the principle of securing a British majority, the task could be easily accomplished without doing much violence to the principle of proportionate representation."

The Rev. Canon Wirgman, writing in the *Nineteenth Century* for September, says that the Boers are likely to abstain from politics altogether after the war, and that the future constitution of the confederated colonies must be imposed upon them from without, by the strong hand of the imperial government. This is the view held by Cecil Rhodes.

THE WAR OF THE FUTURE.

M. JEAN DE BLOCH begins in the *Contemporary* a series of papers upon "The Wars of the Future," in which he embodies the substance of the carefully reasoned argument which he presented this summer to the members of the United Service Institution. M. de Bloch begins cheerily by expressing his astonishment that the remarkable evolution which is rapidly turning the sword into a plowshare has passed almost unnoticed even by the professionals who are paid to keep a sharp lookout. As one who has for the last fourteen years devoted himself to the subject, he sets forth his conclusions in a paper of nearly thirty pages. His object in this exposition is to prove from a purely technical point of view that war as a means of deciding quarrels between nations is no longer efficacious. The economic question is the key of the whole military position. Even though the sword be sharp and trusty, the army that wields it will be paralyzed long before it has struck its decisive blow.

WAR AN ANACHRONISM.

War, says M. de Bloch, has become an anachronism. The experience of the recent hostilities has entirely destroyed all the accepted doctrines upon which military operations are based. Battles in the old sense of the word have become impossible, and a fight to a finish is out of the question. The indictment against war is all the more overwhelming because it is supported by those who are themselves eminent members of the military profession. The old system of tactics has been swept away, while the men of use and wont are fondly clinging to the old traditions. M. de Bloch then quotes these authorities, and declares emphatically that they all agree in maintaining that warfare has been revolutionized, and that it can only be carried on by one of two methods. If on the old lines, it would result in the slaughter of millions, whereas, if waged in the only way possible to-day, it must drag on for years. In other words, on technical grounds, war as a means of solving disputes is a thing of the past.

SOUTH AFRICA'S LESSON.

The Transvaal war has supplied a series of object-lessons which have swept the last remnants of *terra firma* from under the feet of those dangerous enthusiasts who continue to hug the delusions that war in the old sense is any longer possible. M. de Bloch maintains that the Transvaal war has relegated the dogma of the necessity for obligatory military service to the limbo of disembodied dreams. It is the death of militarism,

and the wiping out of all the advantages which militarism was relied upon to secure for the nations which cultivated it. M. de Bloch then proceeds to reply to the arguments used by German critics and others who would deprive the lessons of the Transvaal war of much of their point by attributing England's defeats to the defects of the British army, or to the conditions under which the campaign was fought. M. de Bloch maintains that the conditions were much more favorable to the invader than they are ever likely to be in any European war, and that the British troops, both in personnel and in material, possessed a much greater superiority over the Boers than any combatants in a great war could hope to enjoy, and that the result conclusively demonstrates the truth of his thesis. The following are some of his leading doctrines: Cavalry is useless, artillery is powerless, and long training is no longer necessary to convert the civilian into a competent fighting man. All the anticipations of the antiquated school of military tacticians have been belied by facts. Yet, notwithstanding this demonstration, the governments continue to squander millions upon preparations which cannot possibly lead to anything. This, says M. de Bloch, is not statesmanlike, but criminal. But that is what the peoples of Europe have been doing.

SHIPS OF WAR ON THE GREAT LAKES.

THE Rush-Bagot Convention, by which is meant the agreement concluded between the United States and Great Britain on April 29, 1817, limits the naval force to be maintained by the two governments on the Great Lakes to three 100-ton vessels each, and forbids the building there of other ships of war by either power. In the September number of the *North American Review*, Representative Henry S. Boutell, of Illinois, raises the question, "Is the Rush-Bagot Convention Immortal?" and considers at some length the circumstances under which the agreement was made and the objects sought to be accomplished by it; the manner in which the parties have observed the convention, and the various interpretations that have been placed upon it; and, finally, the reasons that have been given for its abrogation or modification.

As the convention reserves to both parties the right to abrogate the agreement upon giving six months' notice, and so may be honorably terminated at any time by either of the parties, it is proper to consider what should be the attitude of the United States toward the convention in the future. Shall we seek to secure changes that will make the instrument conform to present conditions, or shall we demand abrogation?

DISADVANTAGES TO THE UNITED STATES.

The present arrangement undeniably involves disadvantages to the United States, all of which arise, as Mr. Boutell points out, from conditions that did not exist when the convention was agreed to, and could hardly have been anticipated by its framers. Some of these disadvantages are stated by Mr. Boutell as follows :

" In the first place, it debars the shipbuilders on the lakes from competing for the construction of such Government war vessels as can pass the Canadian canals. This is a discrimination against a large and important industry which should not be tolerated except for the most urgent reasons. The American Ship Building Company now has nine plants on the lakes, located at West Superior, Milwaukee, Chicago, Bay City, Detroit, Wyandotte, Buffalo, Cleveland, and Loraine. There are three other yards on the lakes, at Bay City, Port Huron, and Toledo. Owing to their proximity to the coal and iron deposits, all these lake shipyards can compete successfully with any of the yards in this country or elsewhere. They have built several lightships and other vessels for the Treasury Department, and have been, as we have seen, the lowest bidders for some of the naval vessels. The Government is thus a loser as well by being deprived of the competition of these lake yards.

" The United States suffers a still more serious loss, which is forcibly alluded to by the Secretary of the Navy in his letter of April 16, 1898 :

This inquiry is prompted by the further consideration that it was doubtless not at all within the contemplation of the understanding of 1817 that the national resources in naval construction should be materially diminished thereby, as they are at present through the exclusion of the facilities afforded by establishments in the lake cities. These establishments might in emergency render important service in the construction of torpedo boats and other small vessels, which, with the concurrence of the British authorities, could be taken through the Welland Canal and placed in commission for sea service as promptly as would be possible if they were built on the Atlantic seaboard.

" A strict adherence to the letter of the convention also excludes the lake yards from the construction of naval vessels for other countries at peace with the United States and Great Britain. It will be seen, therefore, that the United States, by continuing in force this international agreement, deprives twelve private American shipyards of great advantages which are enjoyed by all other yards in the country. What prospect of national gain would now induce the President to make, or the Senate to ratify, a treaty which would shut out from the construction of all naval vessels twelve other private American shipyards on the Atlantic or Pacific coasts ? "

There is now a naval militia organized in Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio ; but the naval reserves in these States are deprived, by the operation of the Rush-Bagot Convention of 1817, of the practice on a modern gunboat that is enjoyed by the reserves in the seaboard States.

IN THE EVENT OF WAR.

" In concluding this enumeration of the disadvantages to the United States of adhering to the agreement of 1817, attention must be drawn to the position in which the United States would now be placed in case of a war with Great Britain, although I do not take much account of the possibilities of war between the two countries. War ends all treaties between the belligerents. In anticipation of hostilities, Great Britain could concentrate on the upper St. Lawrence a powerful naval force ready for operation on the lakes upon the declaration of war. Our most efficient method of opposing this force would be by land batteries commanding the upper St. Lawrence and the waters connecting the lakes. With or without this convention, we shall always be at a disadvantage in a conflict with Great Britain on the lakes until we have constructed a waterway through our own territory from the ocean to the lakes of sufficient size to admit the passage of vessels as large as those which can pass through the Canadian canals.

" A careful study of the history of the Rush-Bagot Convention, and an impartial estimate of the advantages and disadvantages accruing to the United States from an adherence to its terms, as now interpreted, lead to the conclusion that the loss to the United States outweighs the gain ; that it is to the interest of both parties to make a new arrangement respecting naval armaments on the lakes ; that the agreement of 1817 is obsolete, and not fit for the foundation of an international understanding ; that a treaty should be made between the United States and Great Britain which would expressly annul the Rush-Bagot Convention and settle the questions of armament and naval construction on the lakes in conformity with modern conditions."

RUSSIA AND THE RUSSIANS.

A VERY interesting paper of impressions of Russia and the Russians is contributed to the *Contemporary Review* for September by Mr. Havelock Ellis. Mr. Ellis' paper, which is entitled "The Genius of Russia," contains, perhaps, a little too much ethical theorizing to be accepted as the final word on Russia ; but this is the defect of all writings on Russian subjects. Mr. Ellis' impressions of Russia are favorable on

the whole, but he finds in the people what he calls a "temperamental barbarism."

"All the traits of the Russian character and of Russian life,—the hospitality of the people, their copious repasts, the profusion of color in their costumes and their cities, the bizarre incoherence of their architecture, the mixture of tenderness and cruelty in their dispositions, their expansive frankness and emotionality,—these are all traits which are strictly barbarous."

A FREE AND CHEERFUL PEOPLE.

Russian scenery, Mr. Ellis quite truly finds, has a wonderful beauty of its own, which Russian painters have neglected. "It is an endless succession of Corots." He finds in Russia an unconstraint and a general air of freedom which contrasts with western Europe.

"The Russian population, certainly, may well be the most resigned in Europe, but it is not the least free, nor, in its own way, even the least cheerful. Shaggy, uncouth, bewildered—recalling the early pictures of the English peasant as well as the representations of his own Scythian ancestors on the famous Nicopol vase in the Hermitage—for all his air of passive resignation, the Russian is yet energetic. Very robust, very healthy, it seems, sometimes of almost colossal dimensions, on holidays radiant and sweet, with their shining, good-natured faces and clean feast-day clothes, men and women alike are marked by their quiet strength, their simplicity, their frank honesty, singularly often with the imprint also of a stern sense of duty, and above all a profound and unfailing good-nature. There is no hint of servitude in their expression, and still less of any pining for freedom. Certainly, freedom is always a relative term, and what is freedom for one is not freedom for another. I should not myself choose to live in Russia. It is not yet a free country for the man who thinks for himself. But there are not many men who really think for themselves, and the ordinary Russian can exert himself freely within the circle of his own activities without meeting with any social or governmental fetters. I know no great city where the peasants occupy so large and so prominent a place as in Moscow; they constitute the markets, they crowd the churches, they roam unquestioned and unwatched even into the private apartments of the imperial palace."

DEVOTED TO THE BATH.

As to Russian habits, he says :

"The Russian delights in bathing, not only in his own peculiar hot-air bath, which everywhere abounds and is open to the lowest classes, but during summer in open-air bathing, which is

sometimes carried on with almost Japanese frankness. Only just outside Moscow I have seen a full-grown girl bathing unabashed in a wayside stream; and on a popular summer feast-day, when a merry troop of peasants crowded into the railway train, regardless of class, they were radiantly clean, as inoffensive to sight and smell as could well be desired. No doubt the conditions of Russian life foster dirt. Poverty, ignorance, cold, the necessity for close rooms and much clothing, are conditions that easily produce filth, even among a people of less resigned temperament than the Russians. Those, however, who point to the stores of facts which have been accumulated concerning the insanitary conditions of Russia forget, if they have ever been aware, that it is but a little while since similar conditions prevailed in western Europe, and that even to-day we are in no country very far removed from them."

HIGH MISSIONARY QUALITIES.

But perhaps the most interesting part of Mr. Ellis' paper is the section devoted to speculations as to Russia's political future. "The Russians," he says, "have a special mission of civilization"—in Asia only, be it understood.

"But for her peculiar task of dominating those barbaric Eastern peoples which are not already in the hands of European powers, and have not already shown some power of civilizing themselves, Russia is eminently fitted. She has herself, it is true, not yet perfectly attained either the civilization of the East or of the West; she has never reached the level either of China or of France. But even the elements of barbarism in her own life and ways, as well as the powerful Asiatic strain in her blood, mark her out for the task which naturally falls to her, and enable her to blend harmoniously with subjugated peoples, from whom British conquerors, for instance, would have been held permanently aloof by lofty disdain. But there is more than that. Beyond any other European people, the Russians possess a degree of receptivity, a radical humanity of feeling, a fund of high idealism, and a sense of the relationship of ideals to practical life which cannot fail to carry them very far. These things, far more than an outrageous militarism or the capacity for frantic industrial production, in the end make up civilization."

EXPANSION INEVITABLE.

Therefore, in the future, Mr. Ellis sees Russia expanding still farther.

"The sphere of Russian influence and power must necessarily extend from Constantinople to

the Pacific, from the Arctic to Afghanistan. There may be a little dispute here and there as to the precise limits which the course of its natural development will not overpass, but there can be no doubt whatever concerning the main lines of Russia's development. Even at the present day, Russia holds Asia in her hands; and certainly long before the present century is out Russia will be universally acknowledged as the supreme Asiatic power. Beyond Constantinople it is scarcely likely that Russia will develop westward. Constantinople, it is true, naturally belongs to Russia; it is a source of her most sacred traditions, religiously and politically the metropolis of that ancient Eastern empire to which she is the only possible successor. Moreover, it is one of the natural outlets of Russia, and for over a century the Slav migration has been steadily increasing throughout this region. Any opposition to Russia's claim to the ultimate possession of Constantinople is artificial and fictitious, based on the jealousies of other nations, for there can be no question whatever that, failing its present possessors, no power has Russia's claims to Constantinople. It may certainly be added that Constantinople, however important it may once have been, is now a possession of little more than sentimental value. The whole Mediterranean, indeed, once the chief center and source of human civilization, is becoming a spot mainly interesting to tourists and archaeologists. Constantinople is a specially eligible site for excavation; it will not henceforth be much more than this, for the centers of life are tending to pass from this side of the world to the other, and the Pacific, surrounded by Russia, Japan, Australia, and America, will wash the shores of all the youngest and most vigorous countries in the world, without one exception. It will be the special privilege of Russia that she alone among these lands represents Europe. In the Pacific, Europe will only exist by reason of Russia's presence there. For us Europeans, the only direct route to the new world of the future is through Russia, and all our chief interests in that new world are inevitably placed in Russia's hands."

The only possible rival to Russia as a world power is the United States. In conclusion, Mr. Ellis likens Russia to a youthful Russian giantess whom he saw exhibited in Europe some years ago.

"Unlike most of her kind, Elizabeth Lyska was healthy and well-formed, very gentle, with a sense about her of yet undeveloped force. A company of anthropologists had been invited to meet her, and she gazed down at the pigmy men of science examining her with a smile on her grave, sweet face, half tender, half amused.

That colossal child, with the mystery of her undeveloped force, has always seemed to me since to be the symbol of her people."

THE GOLD MINES OF SIBERIA.

THE gold-mining possibilities of Siberia are only now coming to the knowledge of Americans and Europeans. Even the Russians themselves seem to have been more or less in the dark regarding the extent of the gold fields which may eventually make of their vast Asiatic possessions the richest domain in the world. And yet all explorers and engineers who have investigated the matter testify to the existence of beds of gold-bearing sand and reefs of gold-bearing quartz as yet unworked, not only in Siberia, but in Mongolia and Manchuria as well. These facts are brought out in an article contributed to the *Engineering Magazine* for September by Mr. C. W. Purington, who has recently visited Siberia and made a thorough examination of the mineral resources of the country.

The gold-bearing area of Siberia is divided as follows:

	Square miles.
Ural district (lying partly in Siberia and partly in eastern Russia).....	60,000
Yenisei district.....	280,000
Trans-Baikal district (south).....	20,000
Trans-Baikal district (north).....	160,000
Amur district.....	360,000
Total gold-bearing area.....	880,000

Compare with this total the gold-bearing area of the United States, as shown in the following table:

	Square miles.
California.....	15,000
Rocky Mountain district, including Nevada and South Dakota.....	180,000
Appalachian district.....	10,000
Alaska districts.....	60,000
Total gold-bearing area.....	265,000

The annual gold product *per capita* of population is about the same in Siberia as in the United States, although the mining methods employed in Siberia are primitive and wasteful, while in the United States the latest improved processes are availed of.

The Russians began placer mining in Siberia during the reign of Catherine II., and, according to Mr. Purington's account, they have made little improvement in their mining methods since that time. The source of the Siberian product is still placer gold—*i.e.*, the gold found in stream deposits overlying the gold-bearing quartz veins.

WASTEFULNESS OF PLACER MINING.

It is a well-known fact that the Californian and Australian placer miners rapidly improved



MAP INDICATING POSITION AND EXTENT OF THE PRINCIPAL GOLD-BEARING DISTRICTS OF SIBERIA.

the mechanical methods of handling the gold-bearing gravels. In California, for example, hydraulic mining was brought to such perfection that gravel carrying only two cents to the cubic yard in gold could be profitably handled. The Siberian, on the other hand, made no changes in his machinery. It is said that precisely the same types of gold-washing machines which were in use in Siberia before the discovery of gold in California are in use to-day in the gold mines of the Lena and Amur rivers. All the work is done by men and horses, with practically no mechanical assistance. Not more than 500 cubic yards of gravel can be washed in twenty-four hours. The Siberian miner never attempts to work gravel where the tenor is less than 33 cents in gold to the cubic yard of gravel. Mr. Purington mentions one mine proprietor who, in order to attain an annual product of \$800,000 in gold, employs 2,000 men and over 500 horses. He handles nearly 1,200,000 cubic yards of gravel during the year, and the cost of his operations amounts to three-fourths of the value of the gold produced. To do the same work, Mr. Purington estimates that only five American steam-shovels or land-dredges would be required, with suitable machinery for washing the gravel, saving the gold, and disposing of the débris. The services of perhaps sixty men would be needed, and engine and boiler capacity up to 600 horse-power. "The entire running and administration expenses would amount to something less

than 15 cents per cubic yard of material handled, as against 50 cents by the Siberian method."

Mr. Purington especially emphasizes the fact that almost all of the twenty-five-million-dollar gold product of Siberia is obtained from gold-bearing gravels or superficial deposits, and that, with very few exceptions, no attempts have been made to work the quartz reefs lying underneath.

"Deep mining, in the American sense of the term, is almost unknown in Siberia. So far as I know, there is not a shaft in any gold-quartz mine in the country which exceeds five hundred feet in depth, nor is there a tunnel a thousand feet long. When this sort of mining activity is compared with that which has recently existed on the South African Rand deposits, or with that of the great Comstock lode, where more than one hundred miles of shafts and tunnels were driven on the vein in a single year, the reasons for such startling contrast appear worthy of some investigation. That gold-bearing veins warranting extensive mining and milling operations exist in Siberia is beyond question. During the course of examinations of Siberian gold deposits extending over a period of fifteen months, I have seen lodes in many parts of the country which if worked would pay large returns."

POSSIBILITIES OF QUARTZ MINING.

One quartz mine, however, is being worked by modern methods; this is in the Achinsk district of Siberia, to the west of the Yenisei

River, and about one hundred miles south of the Trans-Siberian Railway. This mine was visited and inspected by Mr. Purington, who describes the wall-rock of the vein as full of little crystals of iron-sulphide; on closer inspection, particles of gold were visible. When the quartz in the face of the drift was reached, there were still more remarkable "finds."

"Here, by candlelight, on the face of quartz eight feet in width, appeared wire-like strings and masses of native gold, extending in lines more or less parallel to the walls from top to bottom of the drift, which was about six feet high. Such an unprecedented display warranted the opinion that here was the prize 'specimen mine' of the world, or that Siberians were past masters in the art of 'salting.' More was to come, however. In no less than six openings on this vein, all following it from fifty to two hundred feet into the mountain-side, we were shown these marvelous exhibitions of free gold. Blasts of powder were put in wherever we directed. Specimens were taken from the fresh face, beaten up in mortars, and panned. In every case gold was found, often at the rate of hundreds of dollars to the ton. Salting appeared out of the question, and a subsequent examination of the vein along a course of seven hundred feet showed the free gold already found in the tunnels. By an exhibition of his government record books, kept by order of the mining department to accompany the consignments of gold turned in to the agents of the St. Petersburg mint, the owner proved to us that he had in four months' time taken over fifty-thousand dollars from this vein, crushing only eighteen tons of ore a day.

"That the deposit described above is not of an exceptional character in Siberia could be proven by the citation of numerous examples. It is sufficient to show, however, that where sensible and businesslike mining operations have been undertaken they have met with success. By means of the railroad, Central Siberia is now much easier of access than are portions of the United States, and the rates of transportation for both passengers and merchandise are extraordinarily low."

Mr. Purington concludes with the prediction that, if American machinery and mining methods should be introduced in the territory now occupied by Russian and Siberian operators, the annual gold output of the country could be raised to \$200,000,000, and maintained at that figure for a period of at least thirty years. In other words, he estimates Siberia's gold as equivalent in value to twice the amount which can be taken from the mines of the Rand when peace is restored in South Africa.

CENSUS DISCLOSURES IN AUSTRALIA AND CANADA.

IN two widely separated portions of King Edward's dominions the publication of the census figures of 1901 has been followed by no little chagrin and disappointment. Both in Australia and in Canada, it was found that the gain of population for the past decade had been comparatively slight—in Australia less than 19 per cent., and in Canada only a little more than 10 per cent.

From an article on the Australian census contributed to the *Review of Reviews for Australasia* by the Hon. Thomas Ewing, M.P., we learn that the enumeration of March 31, 1901, disclosed a population in the Australian Commonwealth of 3,777,212 persons, thus distributed :

New South Wales.....	1,362,232
Victoria.....	1,195,874
Queensland	502,892
South Australia.....	362,595
Western Australia.....	182,553
Tasmania.....	171,066
	3,777,212

In 1891, the population of the same political divisions numbered 3,183,237. The increase of the ten years was therefore a total of 593,975. The increase in each of the last four decades was as follows :

1861-1871.....	512,279
1871-1881.....	586,697
1881-1891.....	930,620
1891-1901.....	593,975

SLOW PROGRESS.

Proceeding to analyze the figures, Mr. Ewing says :

"From 1891 to 1901 the states of Australia showed a gain by excess of births over deaths of 588,647, while from immigration it was only 5,328. And if the figures in regard to the movement of population be consulted, it will be found that the gain in population from the source last mentioned was less than in any like period since the first settlement of the country. How unfavorably the last decade compares with the three periods immediately preceding will be gleaned from the following figures :

Period.	Gain by Immigration.
1861-1871.....	176,814
1871-1881.....	194,709
1881-1891.....	393,750
1891-1901.....	5,328

An analysis of the figures of each state gives very interesting results.

"In New South Wales, the population in 1901 was 1,362,232, as compared with 1,132,234 ten

years previously, showing a gain of 229,998 persons. During the same period the excess of births over deaths was 226,563, and the net gain by immigration was only 3,435; the state, therefore, barely held its own.

"In Victoria, the population increased from 1,140,405 to 1,195,874, or by 55,469. During the ten years, the births exceeded the deaths by 173,773, and there was an excess of persons leaving the state over those arriving to the extent of 117,604. Of these latter, 76,360 were males and 41,944 females. The exodus of males from Victoria during the ten years was almost equal to the excess of male births over deaths. The state, therefore, quite failed to hold its own.

"The gain of population in Queensland during the ten years was 109,174, of which 86,744 was due to excess of births over deaths, and 22,430 to immigration.

"South Australia and Tasmania both lost population by emigration, in the first case to the extent of 16,373, and in the latter 3,363; but as the excess of births over deaths in South Australia was 58,537, and in Tasmania 27,762, there was a net gain in population in the one state of 42,164, and in the other of 24,399.

"Western Australia is the only state that shows satisfactorily during the period 1891-1901, in comparison with former decades, the gain of the state being 132,771—viz., 15,268 by excess of births over deaths, and 117,503 by immigration.

IMMIGRATION.

"The figures in regard to movement of population in the six states during the last ten years are sorry reading, and they are made no better by comparing them with previous years.

GAIN BY IMMIGRATION SINCE 1861.

State.	1861-1871	1871-1881	1881-1891	1891-1901	Total in 40 years.
New South Wales.....	48,546	107,537	171,061	3,435	330,579
Victoria.....	41,389	*15,322	116,953	*118,304	24,716
Queensland..	70,725	56,760	114,835	22,430	264,750
South Australia.....	17,060	45,032	*28,275	*16,373	17,444
West Australia.....	5,976	*218	13,183	117,503	136,444
Tasmania....	*6,882	920	5,993	*3,363	*3,332
Totals....	176,814	194,709	393,750	5,328	770,601

* Denotes excess of emigration.

"The figures require little comment, and it is obvious that Australia cannot become a great nation unless its population is more largely recruited than has been the case during the past forty years.

"As regards the last ten years, it would be interesting to have an analysis showing the na-

tionality of the persons arriving and departing from the colony, as there is every reason to suppose that during the ten years the Asiatic population resident in Australia has increased considerably, and that the bulk, if not the whole, of the 5,328 persons gained by immigration consisted of Japanese, Hindus, or other colored races. This interesting point must, however, wait for definite settlement until the census returns relating to birthplaces are published."

THE AUSTRALIAN WOMAN.

When the first results of the census were published, it was discovered that the proportion of females to males had increased in the larger states and in the metropolitan centers. On this point Mr. Ewing says:

"Taking Australia as a whole, the female population increased during the last ten years from 1,474,314 to 1,788,264—that is, by 313,943—while the male population increased from 1,708,943 to 1,988,948—that is, by only 280,025. When the detailed figures are looked into, it will be found that the number of male births exceeded the female, and that, while there was a gain of 10,768 males by immigration, the departures of females exceeded the arrivals to the extent of 5,440. The superior increase of females during the ten years has been brought about solely by there being fewer deaths among females than among males. During the period under review, the number of males who died was 264,863, and of females 188,744, showing an excess of male deaths of 76,119, which more than accounts for the superior increase in the number of females in the ten years.

"In no states have the sexes reached a numerical equality. In Victoria, however, the census shows that the males exceed the females by only 7,920, and in Tasmania the excess is still less."

Canadian Statistics.

The total population of the Dominion of Canada is given by the recent census as 5,338,883—an increase of 505,644 during the last ten years. This population was found to be distributed among the provinces as follows :

Province.	1891.	1901.
Ontario.....	2,114,321	2,167,978
Quebec.....	1,488,535	1,620,974
Nova Scotia.....	454,396	459,116
New Brunswick.....	321,263	351,098
Manitoba.....	152,506	246,404
British Columbia.....	98,173	190,000
Northwest territories.....	66,799	145,000
Prince Edward Island.....	109,078	103,258
Total.....	4,833,239	5,338,883

The *National Geographic Magazine* for September gives the following figures for the population of Canadian cities, by municipal boundaries:

Cities.	1891.	1901.
Montreal.....	220,181	266,826
Toronto.....	181,220	207,971
Quebec.....	63,090	68,834
Ottawa.....	44,154	59,902
Hamilton.....	48,980	52,550
Winnipeg.....	25,639	42,336
Halifax.....	38,495	40,787
St. John.....	39,179	40,711
London.....	31,977	37,983
Victoria.....	16,841	20,821
Kingston.....	19,263	18,040
Vancouver.....	13,709	24,196
Brantford.....	12,753	16,631
Hull.....	11,284	13,988
Charlottetown.....	11,373	12,080
Valleyfield.....	5,515	11,055
Sherbrooke.....	10,097	11,765
Sydney.....	2,427	9,908
Moncton.....	5,165	9,026
Calgary.....	3,876	12,142
Brandon.....	3,778	5,738

From a study of the population by families, the *Geographic Magazine* finds that in nearly every province the percentage of increase by families is considerably greater than the percentage of increase of the actual population. The following figures represent the number of families:

Provinces.	1891.	1901.
British Columbia.....	20,718	30,000
Manitoba.....	31,786	48,590
New Brunswick.....	58,462	62,700
Nova Scotia.....	83,730	89,106
Ontario.....	414,796	451,839
Prince Edward Island.....	18,601	18,746
Quebec.....	271,991	303,301
Territories.....	14,415	29,500
Unorganized territories.....	32,168	75,000

A LEADING PREMIER IN GREATER BRITAIN.

THE Right Hon. Richard Seddon, prime minister in New Zealand, occupies most of Mr. Frederick Dolman's sketch of political leaders of that colony, which appears in the *Windsor* for September. It is interesting to note that this Premier of Labor, the author of the first old-age pensions act passed within the British empire, began life himself as a poor workingman.

"The son of a Lancashire artisan, he started life at St. Helens with much the same education and prospects as any other lad in his grade of life. Before he was twenty, however, he showed independent judgment by emigrating to the colony of Victoria, where Mr. Seddon spent some years as a working engineer on the railway. Then he was attracted by the gold discoveries in New Zealand, and in 1876 he settled at Kumara, on the west coast of the South Island."

FROM GOLD MINE TO PARLIAMENT.

He once acted as manager of a canteen at a miner's camp, and is therefore sometimes called "an ex-publican." He made his way, not by great finds of gold, but by his championship of labor.

"Mr. Seddon did not make a 'pile' by his change of country and of employment, but it proved the making of his public career. He was first heard of as an advocate of miners' rights in the local court, then he was elected the representative of the district on the county council, and finally well started on the road to the premiership by his election in 1879 as member for Hokitika in the House of Representatives."

A CHAMPION OF THE CAMP.

Mr. Dolman, who has interviewed Mr. Seddon, communicates the following incident, which suggests that the rising statesman made his way by means even more forcible than tongue or vote:

"Of the turning point in Mr. Seddon's life an anecdote was told me which, if not literally true, may be regarded as an illustration of the sort of hold which he has got upon the people of New Zealand. A dispute occurred between the miners of Dead Horse Gully, let me say, and those of Falling Star Creek. The miners of the Gully wished to settle the matter by the ordeal of battle, and accordingly sent their chosen representative to the Creek with a challenge to fight the best man. The champion of Dead Horse Gully was a bully who had tyrannized over the miners in both camps, and was only chosen now in the belief that his prowess would intimidate the enemy. This effect it seemed likely to have, until Dick Seddon offered to fight the bully in his comrades' cause. Fight he did, and won such a victory as made him the hero thenceforth of the whole camp."

A POWER BEHIND THE THRONE.

How this Lancashire lad, who began his career by working hard on his grandfather's farm in the old country, has been able to attempt legislation of the most difficult and successful kind is perhaps partly explained by a hint dropped in the following paragraph:

"Early in 1896, Mr. Reeves resigned the position of minister for labor to accept the office of agent-general for New Zealand, in which he is so well known in London. Having exercised a great intellectual influence over Mr. Seddon, it is almost with paternal enthusiasm that Mr. Reeves adds to the ordinary duties of an agent-general that of explaining and defending the social legislation for which New Zealand has distinguished itself during the last few years, and

he would seem to be clearly destined for the premiership himself as soon as a vacancy should occur."

DESIGNS ON CHINA.

In an appended pen portrait by Mr. W. S. Myers of the "Premier Imperialist at Home," Mr. Seddon is reported as saying :

" 'My latest trouble,' said he, 'and one that has brought me keen disappointment, was the colony's failure to respond to my call for New Zealand volunteers for China. My demand was dubbed "far-fetched," "quixotic," "ultra-imperialistic." But the press and my colleagues are wrong. This is no extreme, impulsive scheme of mine. I always try to look a long way ahead. Eventualities may arise in connection with the adjustment of affairs in China that will necessitate New Zealand's coming to the fore. We lie, geographically, in a direct sea line from Chinese ports,—three weeks' sailing will bring any foreign warship to our shores. Were we to send New Zealand soldiers to help in the defense of British rights in China, we would make them feel our power. But, to my profound regret, my foresight is misinterpreted.' "

THE POSITION OF LORD ROSEBERY.

IN the *Fortnightly Review* for September, the writer who disguises his identity behind the *nom de plume* of "Calchas" contributes an "Open Letter to Lord Rosebery," in which he treats the former leader of the Liberal party more seriously than most of his critics are inclined to do. "It will be good for you," he says to Lord Rosebery, "to avoid a too general popularity, and to cultivate a little hatred."

Speaking of Lord Rosebery's recent deliverances to the City Liberals, "Calchas" says :

"So far as your intentions were declared to the City Liberal Club, they were absolutely disappointing to those middle elements of national opinion to which you had hitherto appealed with most success. They dislike the government. They reject the opposition. But they believe that the rôle you propose to yourself, so far from providing a remedy for the weaknesses of either, would confirm the supine security of the one, make confusion worse confounded among the other, and aggravate all that is already weak and bad in the political situation. No honest man with the slightest claim to a knowledge of public feeling could hesitate to tell you, if his opinion were asked, that your public influence with any characteristic section of the community would be extinguished by another intervention of that character."



ANOTHER SHOCK.

LIBERAL PARTY : "Oh, deary me ! What's the trouble now ? And just when we were beginning to get on again so nicely, too !"

THE SEA-SERPENT : "Don't be frightened, ma'am ; I've only come up to blow !"

["I hold myself absolutely free from the restraint which I imposed on myself nearly five years ago. Not that I desire to re-enter the arena of party politics; far from it. I shall never voluntarily return to it." —Lord Rosebery's Letter to the City Liberal Club.]

From the *Westminster Gazette*.

"Calchas," after thus faithfully dealing with Lord Rosebery, does him a good service in exhuming the presidential address which he delivered at the Social Science Congress in 1874, when Lord Rosebery was only twenty-seven years of age. "Calchas" says :

"No one has diagnosed the elements of national weakness more clearly, even since the searching lessons of the present war afforded the unmistakable revelation of our symptoms, than you did in 1874, when your instinct for the future was more sensitive than that of any politician in Great Britain."

THE PLACE OF ETHICAL FERVOR.

But having thus laid some salve, "Calchas" resumes the rod, and discourses to Lord Rosebery as follows :

"The place of ethical fervor, believe it, has not passed away from politics. Beyond all men prominent in public life, except Mr. John Morley, you have the authentic impulse born of social insight and sympathy. When you plead for the wretched, the suffering, for the poor in darkness, you move, you agitate. In that mood of eloquence you can trouble and lift the heart of the nation with something of the lyric cry, and communicate a fine inspiration to the imperial idea. England needs you if the clotted philistinism of a vulgar and a vaunting sense of empire is to be dissolved. Your message to the country has been, 'Action, action, action !' The message of the country to you is, 'Action, action, action !' But if the rôle of the accomplished Ishmaelite is not to be combined with the retention of your

public influence, who are to be your associates ? The dream of a middle party disappeared after the Blenheim demonstration as swiftly and irreversibly as if its fascinating attractions had never floated before any human mind."

THE CRISIS OF HIS DESTINY.

His conclusion is as follows :

"The only personality through which Liberalism can hope to appeal to the nation and the empire against Mr. Chamberlain's is yours.

"It appeared, after the South African disasters had changed the public view of many men and things, that henceforward only two men would count in public life—Lord Rosebery and Mr. Chamberlain. The doubt now is whether Mr. Chamberlain alone is to count. Your destiny has reached its crisis, and upon your present determination to sink or swim with the fortunes of one party or the other will depend whether history is to devote to your career the damaging footnote or the appreciative chapter."

HIS AGGRESSIVE LASSITUDE.

The author of "Musings Without Method" devotes two or three pages in the September number of *Blackwood* to a discussion of the position of Lord Rosebery. He says many sarcastic things at the expense of the late leader of the Liberal party, and sums up the case against him without even recommending him to mercy. He says :

"'Dalmeney is one of those,' said an Eton master some forty years ago, 'who like the palm without the dust,' and assuredly Lord Rosebery has won more palms with less dust than the most of men. He is a Nicias who translates hesitation into inertness, a Fabius who delays so strenuously that he never comes into action. Nor would his temperament and character be an inconvenience to the state had he not usurped a sort of leadership."

In endeavoring to account for what the writer calls the aggressive lassitude of Lord Rosebery, he attributes it first to his cunningly unstable character, and then to the fact "that to high rank and a love of affairs he brings no passionate conviction, no reckless enthusiasm. Moreover, the defects of an inactive temperament have been intensified fivefold by a hapless education. For Lord Rosebery was at once the creation and the creature of Mr. Gladstone."

STILL A "MAN OF THE FUTURE."

But the writer in *Blackwood* is more puzzled to account for Lord Rosebery's popularity than he is for his fame :

"But more strange than his vacillating career is his unbroken popularity. Being a leader, he

may demand to be led, he may throw over his party at its worst crisis, but he cannot destroy the people's interest. No public man of our day has a more generous notice of the press which he fears. But the press, for all its arrogance, is not yet omnipotent, and is daily weakening its influence by a reckless disregard of truth. It can force the world to talk about this man or that ; it cannot insure any man's acceptance. In other words, it has the power of nomination, and none other. Accordingly, it has nominated Lord Rosebery for every position to which wealth and intelligence may aspire, but its nomination has not been ratified, and in its despite Lord Rosebery will probably remain 'dissociated and isolated' until the end. Fifteen years ago, Mr. Gladstone declared him 'the man of the future ;' a man of the future he remains to-day—with a shorter time of fulfillment."

A ROSEBERY-CHAMBERLAIN ALLIANCE?

IT is interesting to find in the second August number of the *Revue de Paris* a character sketch of Lord Rosebery by M. Achille Viallate. The preliminary account of Lord Rosebery's political career which M. Viallate gives need not detain us except in so far as it throws light upon the French writer's exceptional acquaintance with English politics, of which he appears to have an intuitive comprehension. Naturally, however, M. Viallate is most interesting when he quits the easy ground of biographical information and embarks on the delicate task of penetrating within the man himself in order to note what is his position to-day and what are his views and his hopes.

LORD ROSEBERY'S POPULARITY.

First of all, this appreciative critic fully acknowledges Lord Rosebery's remarkable popularity with all classes of society—a popularity won partly by his victories on the turf, partly by a certain natural courtesy and human sympathy. He goes on to say of the ex-premier that there are few problems which his fine, delicate intelligence, with its keen intellectual curiosity, has not attacked, and there are few opinions which it has not forced itself to understand. A debater rather than an orator, Lord Rosebery prefers to appeal to reason rather than to passion. At the same time, he has the orator's gift of sympathy with his audience ; his voice, though of no remarkable compass, is nevertheless extremely flexible, and its musical clearness enables it to be distinctly heard even in the largest halls. Curiously enough, M. Viallate prefers the study of Pitt to the study of Napoleon at St. Helena, though he willingly acknowledges the impartial-

ity which Lord Rosebery displays in the latter work in denouncing the conduct of the emperor's jailers.

THE SECRET OF HIS FAILURE.

The French writer then asks himself how a man endowed with all these qualifications failed so completely as a party leader. The answer, he thinks, is not to be found in any handicap of outward circumstances such as the accident of the peerage or the ambitions of rivals, but in Lord Rosebery's own personality. The ex-premier possesses, he admits, something of the same astonishingly wide intellectual outlook which distinguished Mr. Gladstone, but he is totally without that power of intellectual concentration which was the basis of all Mr. Gladstone's success as a leader. The critical spirit is Lord Rosebery's worst enemy. As Mr. Pitt so truly said, the English love a statesman whom they understand or think that they understand, and in spite of all his popularity the masses have never really understood Lord Rosebery. What greater contrast could there be than that between Lord Rosebery's fastidious, critical, artistic temperament and the positive, prejudiced mind of the average Englishman!

IMPERIALISM AND SOCIAL REFORMS.

M. Viallate agrees with Lord Rosebery in thinking that the Liberal party ought to have reckoned with the sentiment of imperialism which has gradually developed in England in the last quarter of a century. This sentiment our French critic attributes partly to the vague fears engendered in the British mind by the sudden growth of several great empires, and he declares that "the preservation of the British empire ought to be one of the chief planks in the programme of every political party." For the rest, M. Viallate recalls regretfully that speech, delivered more than ten years ago, in which Lord Rosebery laid it down that the politics of the future would be the politics of the poor, and that the function of the statesman would be to guide the working classes in the dangerous exercise of power. Now, however, domestic reforms no longer occupy the first place in Lord Rosebery's mind, and he has lost his faith in the democracy. No longer is he "a Liberal without epithet," as he proudly proclaimed himself to be at Edinburgh in 1885; he has become a "Liberal Imperialist." The great mass of the Liberal party, though unquestionably affected by the imperialist sentiment, mistrusts the bellicose character associated with it, and fears to see social reforms elbowed out.

Such, in brief, is M. Viallate's view of the situation, and in so far as he allows himself to

prophesy, he points not obscurely to a Rosebery-Chamberlain alliance in the future. The Liberal party must, he thinks, come round to Lord Rosebery, who is at the same time fatally inclined to Conservative ideas. M. Viallate admits that Lord Rosebery's conception of the empire is not so dangerous or so vulgar as Mr. Chamberlain's, but if it came to a struggle between the two men sitting in the same cabinet, M. Viallate would have no hesitation in predicting another Chamberlain victory.

THE PLIGHT OF THE BRITISH TRADE-UNIONS.

M. FREDERIC HARRISON contributes to the *Positivist Review* for September a brief paper concerning the recent decision of the House of Lords as to the civil liability of trade-unions for the acts of their officials. Mr. Harrison's paper is pessimistic in the extreme. He regards the decision of the House of Lords as being morally and legally final. He even goes so far as to say that he doubts whether qualified lawyers will find it easy to displace any one of the precise propositions laid down by Lord Lindley in his judgment. We may therefore take it as settled that the law is as Lord Lindley lays it down. And what is the result of this? Mr. Harrison tells the working-men of England that, as the result of these judgments, "they have lost important interests of their daily labor for which a previous generation struggled and believed they had won forever. Two decisions of the House of Lords in the last few weeks have deeply affected the legal positions of the trade-unions of our country. It is not too much to say that these judgments have practically made new law,—law which must prevent trade-unions from doing many things that, for twenty-five years, they have believed they had a right to do, and which exposes the whole of their funds to legal liabilities from which till now they have been thought to be exempt."

"Until the acts of 1871 and 1875, which legalized trade-unions and strikes, the unions were illegal societies, and could be robbed with impunity. The authors of those acts assumed that in making unions legal they did not make them corporate bodies capable of suing and being sued. When some of the unions were asking for power to sue as corporate bodies, some of us on the royal commission told them that, if they had the right to sue, they would be exposed to the liability to be sued, in which case they would very soon be ruined. From that day to this it has been held that trade-unions could not be sued as a body and made liable to the whole extent of their funds—benefits to widows

and children and all—like a bank, a railway, or a trading company. The House of Lords has now astonished the legal and the industrial world by deciding that unions can be sued, and the whole of their funds charged to make good whatever is lawfully claimed in costs or as damages for the acts of their officers. How soon, or how far, that new law may ruin them, remains to be seen.

"I certainly have no intention of caviling at this judgment—no lawyer would do so. It is final and makes the law."

"The Irish case, Quinn *versus* Leathem, decided on August 5, fills up all the holes left open by the Taff Vale case. If the first was the wedge strong enough to rend any union to which it was applied, the second was the steam-hammer to drive the wedge home."

"These two decisions together come to this :

"1. When a trade-union seeks to drive any one to its terms by inducing others not to deal, though it may not do anything forbidden by the act of 1875, it may be civilly liable in damages (Quinn *versus* Leathem).

"2. A trade-union may be made corporately responsible for the acts of its officers, may be sued by name, and its funds may be taken to satisfy all legal claims.

"If powerful companies cannot smash up the great unions with these new weapons in the industrial war, they must be a dull and timid lot, and not the men they are commonly supposed to be.

"Now, what are trade-unionists to do ? Well, the only advice I can give them is—not to enter into strikes or lockouts at all, or, if they do (and it seems still to be lawful for tradesmen to agree not to work, or to work only for specific wages), to be very careful to do nothing which can pinch or inconvenience anybody, workmen or employers, directly or indirectly. If they make it unpleasant to any one, or cause any one to lose his money or his trade, they run great risk of having their union funds drained dry. So I advise them to take the terms their employers offer them—and be thankful for that."

LONDON IN TEN YEARS' TIME.

THE *Pall Mall Magazine* for September contains a very interesting paper entitled "The London of Ten Years Hence; a Walk from Westminster to St. Paul's and Westward Again to South Kensington." It is written by Mr. Hugh B. Philpott, and admirably illustrated by Mr. Hedley Fitton. Mr. Philpott begins by calling attention to the often overlooked fact of the amount of new building that is going on in London at the present time. He says:

"Within the next ten years, there will have

been added to London a greater number of costly and important new buildings than in any similar period since the rebuilding of the city after the great fire of 1666. If it were made known that in ten years' time there would be completed in England on the banks of a noble river a new city of half a million inhabitants, containing a splendid cathedral, great government buildings, a town hall, a palace of justice, three substantial bridges, besides libraries, baths, hospitals, hotels, and business premises, all designed by the most eminent architects and engineers of the day, and erected in a style worthy of any capital in the world, there can be no doubt that the announcement would arouse the most widespread interest and curiosity. Yet that is precisely what is going to happen, except that the fine new city, instead of being separate and self-contained, will be dispersed in sections throughout the whole of the metropolis."

In order to illustrate the change that will be wrought in the outward appearance of the metropolis, Mr. Philpott says :

"Let us imagine the case of a London citizen who knows his London fairly well, and is interested in it,—a somewhat exceptional person, it must be admitted,—and who, after an absence of about ten years, returns to town, say, in the spring of 1911. What are the most striking changes he is likely to observe in the streets and buildings ?"

THE CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL.

Mr. Philpott starts his traveler at Victoria Station, and the first thing that meets his eye is the great new Roman Catholic cathedral which is being built on the right in Ashley Gardens. This is the most important Roman Catholic edifice erected in England since the Reformation. It is in the Byzantine style, with an outside of red bricks relieved with bands of stonework. In time it is hoped that the whole of the interior walls and roof will be covered with the richest marbles and mosaics.

"The building is on a colossal scale : it is 380 feet long by 170 feet broad, and will hold a congregation of about ten thousand people. The campanile, when carried to its full height, will be 300 feet high, and the great arch over the west door is said to be the largest arch over any church door in the world ; the tympanum of the arch, which is 27 feet across, will be filled with mosaic."

THE NEW GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS.

Leaving Ashley Gardens and proceeding westward, Mr. Philpott's traveler is confronted by the great group of new buildings fronting Westminster Abbey.

"The buildings in question are the new government offices, which are being erected from the designs of the late Mr. J. M. Brydon. When the scheme is fully carried out, the block will extend from Parliament Street right back to St. James' Park. The group of great buildings here—the houses of Parliament, with their stately towers and beautiful Gothic detail; the venerable abbey, with St. Margaret's Church nestling at its side, and the imposing mass of the new government offices—will form as fine an architectural combination as is to be found in any city in the world.

"Passing along Parliament Street into Whitehall, the visitor of a few years hence will notice that another great change has been made. Adjoining the famous banqueting hall of Inigo Jones, now used as the Royal United Service Museum, and facing the Horse Guards, will stand the new war office—another stately and impressive pile. On a narrow strip of land between the Victoria Tower and the Nelson Monument will be concentrated all the chief administrative offices of the empire. Here is the shuttle of the empire's loom."

THE STRAND IMPROVEMENT.

From Trafalgar Square, the traveler of ten years hence is taken down the Strand and permitted to inspect the result of the expenditure of \$22,500,000 devoted by the County Council to the Strand improvement. Of this sum all but \$3,500,000 will, it is expected, be recouped by the sale of sites and the improved value of property. Mr. Philpott declares that this scheme is the greatest street improvement that has taken place in London since the rebuilding of the city after the great fire. He thus describes how it will impress the visitor:

"Before him stretches a fine, broad thoroughfare (nowhere between Wellington Street and St. Clement Danes Church is it less than 100 feet broad), flanked on the right by Somerset House, and on the left by handsome new shops and offices, and a new Gayety Theater and restaurant. To the left stretches away a crescent-shaped street—an entirely new thoroughfare—which is also 100 feet broad, and is flanked by buildings of dignified and substantial appearance, arranged with a symmetry and order to which our London streets are too little accustomed. The beautiful church of St. Mary-le-Strand, no longer hemmed in by houses on its northern side, stands out in the middle of the widened Strand with a new grace and dignity; and in the distance beyond—more clearly seen than of yore—rise the beautiful tower of St. Clement Danes and the graceful *flèche* of the Law Courts.

"As the traveler proceeds eastward, the magnitude of the improvement becomes only more evident. From St. Mary's to St. Clement's is a broad, uninterrupted roadway. The 'islands' formed by Holywell Street and Wych Street have entirely disappeared. The new street view thus opened up is a very fine one. With a view to securing the dignified and harmonious treatment of the front facing the Strand and the crescent portion of the new street, eight eminent architects were invited to submit designs; and Mr. Norman Shaw, R.A., the most distinguished of living architects, is advising the council as to their suitability. The new thoroughfare between Holborn and the Strand really starts a little to the north of Holborn, at the junction of Theobald's Road and Southampton Row; from this point to High Holborn it is 80 feet wide. Thence it proceeds south in a straight road 100 feet wide to a point near the present Olympic Theater, where it divides itself into a crescent, the arms of which discharge themselves into the Strand at Wellington Street and St. Clement Danes Church."

OTHER IMPROVEMENTS.

Proceeding eastward, Mr. Philpott notices the new buildings of the Prudential Assurance Company, and the new Sessions House of the City of London, whose stately dome will be erected on the site of the old prison at Newgate. Returning westward, the visitor will be impressed by the new public buildings which have been put up in Kensington.

"Two of these, the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Royal College of Science, are buildings of the first importance, and in both cases the work of preparing the foundations is now proceeding vigorously. The third, the Royal School of Art Needlework, a building of some pretensions in the Imperial Institute Road, is much further advanced toward completion."

The river Thames will then be spanned by three new bridges—one at Vauxhall, the second at Lambeth, and the third at Kew. A very striking improvement will be effected to the west of the Parliament House:

"From Lambeth Bridge to the houses of Parliament the journey will be made by a broad new thoroughfare, so planned as to give a fine approach to the houses of Parliament. The Victoria Tower Gardens are to be extended right away to the foot of Lambeth Bridge, and the river embankment is to be continued, thus practically completing it from Blackfriars to Chelsea. The whole of the space now occupied by wharfage, and even some part over which the river now flows, will be added to the gardens."



Art Repro

THE LATE DOWAGER EMPRESS FREDERICK OF GERMANY.

TRIBUTES TO THE EMPRESS FREDERICK.

THERE are many articles in the magazines about the late Empress Frederick, but there are few which enable us to penetrate the veil which for many years past has hidden the intimate life of the eldest daughter of Queen Victoria from the eyes of her countrymen. Almost the only tribute which bears a distinct personal note, and unveils to a certain extent the inner life of the deceased sovereign, is that which the Princess Radziwill contributes to the *New Liberal Review*, to which magazine Mr. T. P. O'Connor also contributes a few pages of eloquent tribute, but obviously written from the point of view of the outsider.

I.—By Princess Radziwill.

Princess Catherine Radziwill, now in Cape Town, was first presented to the empress in 1874, when she was sixteen years of age. From that time down to two years ago, she had frequent opportunities of meeting her, and in eleven pages in the *New Liberal Review* she pours out her soul in pathetic lament over her friend. "Never can I forget," she declares, "the kindness of the gentle lady who welcomed me with such soft and affectionate words. I still remember her words of greeting—so tactful, so full of sympathy for the child who was craving for her indulgence and protection before entering upon life—and she at once began to love and admire her as she has loved and admired no one else in the world." She evidently exercised an immense personal charm over Princess Radziwill, a charm which only those who were admitted to her intimacy fully realized. She says :

"When one locked into her beautiful, earnest eyes, so full of deep expression, of admiration for what is noble and disdain for hypocrisy and treachery, one always felt ashamed of all the wicked thoughts one had ever had, of all the meanness one had ever been guilty of." "She rebuked one with a single glance, encouraged one with a single smile. She always found the right word to say, the right thing to do."

It is an interesting tribute, probably colored by personal friendship, for unless common gossip be a considerable liar, tact was precisely the one thing in which the Empress Frederick was lacking. Princess Radziwill, however, abandons herself to the generous exaggerations of affection. In her eyes, the Empress Frederick was "a noble creature, far above the passions and wickedness of this world. . . ." In her, existence was a profession of faith—to use the expression of a great saint—faith in God, in herself, in truth, in justice. Although she had been the victim of atrocious calumny, she had many friends, who re-

member with what perfection of charity she allowed them to feel by a pressure of the hand, by the kindness of a look, that she understood their sorrow or their troubles. In this wise she comforted Princess Radziwill when she was mourning for the death of her eldest child, and the loving sentences which she uttered as she bent over the bereaved mother made her sorrow seem lighter and more easy to be borne. To her, she said, the empress had been something she can neither describe nor speak of without tears in her eyes and emotion in her voice.

History records but few tragedies equal to that of the life of Queen Victoria's eldest child. Her life from the time of her marriage to the hour of her death was spent in a vain longing to do good, to work for the welfare of the nation whose sovereign she had hoped to become. She drained to the dregs the cup of human sorrow; she endured humiliations and persecutions, and was misunderstood by almost all the people who surrounded her. She groaned under the tyrannous authority of an unsympathetic mother-in-law. Her generous and noble nature revolted at the sight of the frivolous and at the same time dull life led by society to whom intellectual pursuits were as a rule unknown. At first she could not realize the profound gulf which separates the English from the German nation, nor learn to accept the endless little things which at that time made Prussian court life so tedious and so useless. Her remarkable intelligence was too proud to bend down under certain privileges, or to accept certain compliments, and she became unpopular accordingly. The result was that she retired more and more into a solitude into which very few strangers were admitted, but where she found in the whole-hearted devotion of her husband a solace for the bitterness from which she suffered.

"She surrounded herself with people who understood her, she looked for men and women capable of sympathizing with the humanitarian tendencies with which she was imbued, and which always ruled all the actions of her life. She welcomed poets, writers, artists. One met men like Mommsen, Ranke, Helmholtz, in her rooms, and even they were struck with her clever intelligence and the loftiness with which she judged the events of the world and the people who had played a part in its history. All those who came into contact with her, and approached her otherwise than at state functions, were impressed by her genius."

Her very superiority to the mob of courtiers intensified her unpopularity, but her serenity never deserted her, even in the most cruel moments of her existence, when she saw her hopes

shattered to the ground, her ambitions destroyed, and her happiness ruthlessly snatched away by death.

After the death of her sister, Princess Alice, and of her youngest son, Prince Waldemar, she spent a year in Italy. When she returned, she was no longer the same woman. There was a new softness in her. In her own woes she found an infinite compassion for those of others. She had learned forgiveness and had acquired patience, but she had also lost all wish to make others understand her, or to try to convey to the crowd the various impressions and impulses of her soul.

January 25, 1883, when they celebrated her silver wedding at Berlin, was the last bright day of the crown princess' life. Her health began to give way, and her life was darkened by the shadow of the fatal malady which ultimately left her a widow.

"She looked up to heaven for strength and courage, and she went on living for others, as she had always done, never sparing herself in the service of her neighbor, always active when his welfare was concerned. She had that strong, pure faith in an Almighty God which is only granted to noble spirits—a faith devoid of prejudices, broad and enlightened, which sees in every human creature a soul to save, and in every sinner a heart which can repent."

"You can never be far from God if you love his creatures," she said one day to Princess Radziwill, who adds :

"No one loved God's creatures more and better than she did; no one suffered more intense agony at the sight of human sorrow, or grasped more thoroughly even the woes which did not touch her personally, or in which she played no part."

After the emperor's death, the fury with which the empress had been attacked gradually abated. Time, that great destroyer of slanders, made havoc of all those that had been poured upon her.

She seldom came back to Berlin, and when she did, Princess Radziwill met her frequently. She had aged, her hair was almost white, but her eyes had retained their earlier glance and luminous clearness. Her soft, melodious voice remained unaffected by the passage of time.

The last time the princess saw her was at Bordighera, more than two years ago.

"She was always the same, and as time went on her serenity seemed to increase, perhaps because she was feeling she was getting nearer and nearer to the supreme aim of every human life—reunion with those one has loved in a world where 'sin and sorrow are no more, only peace

and life everlasting.' The germs of the disease to which she has succumbed were already in her, and a fall she had from her horse in the summer of 1898 perhaps added to the mischief. Certain it was that her strength steadily declined after that time, until at last the evil broke out, and the long, painful illness went on mercilessly sapping away her life and torturing her body, as if the agonies her soul had endured had not been enough."

"She died a queen, brave to the end."

II.—By Sir Roland Blennerhasset.

Sir Roland Blennerhasset contributes to the *National Review* an account of the empress, whose acquaintance he made long ago when he was an attaché at the embassy in Berlin. He ridicules the idea that the empress ever tried to anglicize Germany. She was far too clever for that.

"It is not possible to deny that the Empress Frederick was a person of great intellectual gifts. Bismarck knew that perfectly. Lord John Russell used to say she was one of the ablest women he had ever known. Lord Palmerston held very similar opinions; and so cautious and shrewd a man as Lord Clarendon, in a letter written in 1861, expresses his astonishment at the comprehensive and statesmanlike views which she took of affairs. It is impossible to imagine that a person so intellectually gifted could possibly have entertained for a moment the idea of introducing suddenly English institutions into Germany. She had as little intention of doing so as Prince Bismarck himself. She always denied that she had any intention of using her influence to force upon Germany English administrative methods. What she desired was to mitigate Prussian bureaucracy, to infuse a freer and more elastic spirit into existing institutions, and to identify the monarchy in Prussia with popular aspirations."

After the war, her aspiration took a new form, although her ultimate aim was still the same.

"She looked forward to the time when Bavarian and Prussian, and those who live in Baden, and the inhabitants of Württemberg and Saxony, should feel themselves thoroughly and completely members of one great country, and equally attached to its fundamental institutions. Provincial distinctions might continue. Above all, none of the centers of civilization and culture which give such vigor and vitality to intellectual life in Germany were to be sacrificed. But the unity of Germany, as it was conceived by many of the noblest Germans of the time, with whom the empress agreed, was to be consolidated and strengthened, not by drawing closer the iron bands of military organization, but the states were to be knit together by a constitution fit for a free and

enlightened people, a popular monarchy, a bicameral system, a real and adequate representation of the people, and, above all, a responsible executive."

This ideal brought her into sharp collision with Prince Bismarck. On this question Sir Roland Blennerhasset thinks Bismarck was right and the empress was wrong; but afterward, when Bismarck began the Kulturkampf, he considered that the empress was entirely in the right in opposing it.

"It was no great difficulty for the Empress Frederick, owing to her early training, to see what the end of the Kulturkampf must be. She understood the strength of moral forces. Bismarck never did. Bismarck never grasped the distinction between what is essential in the Catholic system and what is not, and thus he proceeded to interfere in questions clearly within the province of ecclesiastical authority, and by so doing he drove every earnest Catholic in the country, no matter what his political convictions or sympathies might be, into association, if not alliance, with persons who desired the overthrow of the empire. The party then began to attract to itself all kinds of discontented persons. Extreme particularists in various parts of the country, ultra-Conservatives in the south, and Radicals of various kinds joined the party, hoping under the cloak of religion to further their political views. Thus it grew and became more and more powerful, and at last it had to be arranged with. One fine day the world learned that the flag of the German empire had been struck to a combination that had been denounced, with more or less truth, as inimical to the very existence of the empire. It is quite certain that if the Empress Frederick had been listened to the German empire would have been spared that humiliation, and further, the party of the Center, which is so powerful and likely to remain so, would not now be in existence."

Nor was this the only mischief which came to Germany as the result of the disregard paid by Bismarck to the Empress Frederick's protest. Sir Roland Blennerhasset attributes the growth of the Social Democratic movement largely to the fact that the National Liberals discredited themselves by the support which they gave to Bismarck in his policy of persecution. How rapidly the Social Democrats have increased and multiplied may be seen from the fact that "in the general election of 1878 only 435,000 votes were cast for the Social Democrats all over Germany. Twenty years afterward, 2,125,000 persons out of 7,600,000 voters polled for the candidates of that party. It has secured some fifty-six seats in the Reichstag."

Sir Roland, at the close of his article, says:

"There are several other questions which, if space allowed, I should like to speak about, more especially the earnest desire of the Empress Frederick to lift up in all countries the position of women. Had she been placed in a position of power in Germany, I feel confident she would have done great things in this direction."

GERMANY AS ENGLAND'S TRADE RIVAL.

M R. ERNEST WILLIAMS, the author of the well-known pamphlet entitled "Made in Germany," contributes an article to the current number of the *National Review* in which he somewhat exultantly points to the fact that his predictions of five years ago have been more than vindicated by events. He says, regarding England's loss of industrial and commercial prestige to Germany:

"We have within the past five years lost our supremacy in coal-production; we have lost it in pig-iron production; our inferior place as a steel-producer is becoming worsened each year; we have lost our supremacy as a general exporting nation. There are only two big industries in which we remain supreme—textiles and ships—and in each of them we are threatened as menacingly as twenty years ago we were threatened in those industries which we have now lost. Nor are we gaining in commerce as distinct from manufacture. The progress of Hamburg and other Continental ports bears witness of that. Nor are we maintaining our place as the world's bankers. Nations in need of money no longer come to us as a matter of course; they have commenced to take their wants to the United States; China's war loan had to be placed jointly in England and in Germany, and was taken up mostly in Germany. England herself has gone a-begging to the United States for money to carry on the South African war. In 1890, our exports were worth £7 0s. 7½d. per head; in 1900, they were worth only £6 5s. 10½d. (The export of ships is not included in either year, because they were not exhibited in the Board of Trade returns in 1890.) These figures prove that we have lost ground, not only relatively to other countries, but actually upon a per head basis of our own country's population."

The phenomenal growth of Hamburg affords him another opportunity of crowing over his critics. Hamburg, he says, is now the first port on the Continent, and is only second to London. How long London will retain her supremacy remains to be seen. He concludes his survey by a reference to the effect of American competition upon English and German trade. He says:

"The industrial competition of the United States five years ago was, by comparison with what it is now and threatens to be in the near future, as the hand-breadth cloud upon the horizon. England's advance to industrial greatness was, even during those years of the nineteenth century when the advance was most rapid, an imperceptible crawl compared to the sudden stride of the United States. Germany's advance was more rapid than England's, but it was much slower than America's. And do not think that Germany will cease to be formidable because a greater industrial power than Germany has arisen. Germany, in many respects, will become more formidable than ever. Driven out of many of her markets by the United States, she will fight with the greater pertinacity against England for the possession of those markets in which England retains a foothold."

DO MEN WISH TO BE IMMORTAL?

TO the *Fortnightly Review* for September, Mr. F. C. S. Schiller contributes a very interesting paper upon this subject. He holds very strongly that man does not desire immortality, does not even, indeed, wish for a future life. If it can hardly be said that he is quite content to cease to exist after the breath is out of his body, he certainly shows no keen interest in the inquiry as to whether or not when a man dies he shall live again.

LITTLE SCIENTIFIC INVESTIGATION.

Mr. Schiller quotes an anecdote told by Mr. Myers about a churchwarden of unimpeachable orthodoxy who, when pressed as to his expectation of a future life, answered that he supposed he would enter into eternal bliss, but that he wished Mr. Myers would not bring up such depressing topics. The experience of the Psychical Research Society, which has never had more than 1,500 members, with an income of \$10,000 a year, affords a gauge of the indifference with which this subject is regarded in Great Britain, and matters are even worse elsewhere. Mr. Schiller says "scientific investigation of immortality is not encouraged. People do not want to hear about it, and above all they do not want to know about it. For if once they knew, it would be most inconvenient. They would have to act on their knowledge, and that might upset the habits of a lifetime."

But even the churches, which are founded upon a belief in immortality, do nothing to promote the verification of the hypothesis upon which they rest, if we may trust in deductions based on Mr. Schiller's experience and observation.

NO RELIGIOUS ENTHUSIASM.

Mr. Schiller says :

"The religious renounce the attempt of maintaining immortality, as a matter of fact, and adducing tangible evidence in its favor. The doctrine becomes a dogma which has to be accepted by faith, and the obligation of raising it to positive knowledge is expressly disavowed. On the contrary, it is just because the religious doctrines of immortality are *not* taken as facts that they are accepted. The religious doctrines with respect to the future life form a sort of paper currency convertible with fact, which suits people and circulates the better because of its very badness. The truth is that everybody *has felt* the importance of the subject, but that at any given moment only an infinitesimal fraction *actually feel* it, so that there is never any effective demand for its investigation. Whoever conceives a desire to know the truth about the future life engages in a struggle with social forces which is almost sure to end tragically. But, as a rule, the interest is short-lived and soon dies out—or, rather, is trampled out by the social disapproval of the pretension to be more troubled about such matters than one's elders and betters."

SPIRITISM.

There is, however, one exception to this universal ignoring of a future life. Mr. Schiller says :

"The only exception seems to be spiritism, which appears to be a religion whose sole essential dogma is the assertion of the possibility of, in a manner, unifying this world with the next by communicating with the departed, and whose sole essential right is the practice of such communication. That is what renders the psychology of spiritism so interesting and worthy of analysis. In the first place, it should be noted that it is not a scientific movement (in spite of a few notable exceptions), but a religion, nay, in all probability the most ancient of all religions. And yet, as a religion, spiritism has been and is a failure, and for this fact it may be suggested that the reason is just that *it does treat the future life as a hard (and somewhat crude) fact*. This is the source both of its strength and of its weakness. Of its strength, because no other doctrine can minister with such directness to the bereaved human heart, no other consolation can vie with its proffer of visible and tangible tokens that love outlasts death, and that the separation death inflicts is not utter and insuperable."

Mr. Schiller, however, is not content to theorize upon this subject. Together with Mr. Richard Hodgson, of the American Psychical Research

Society, he has drawn up a question paper, forms of which will be supplied to any one who wishes to fill them and who will send his or her name and address to Mr. Schiller, C.C.C., Oxford.

"QUESTIONS.

- "I. Would you prefer (a) to live after 'death' or (b) not?
- "II. (a) If I. (a), do you desire a future life, whatever the conditions may be?
- (b) If not, what would have to be its character to make the prospect seem tolerable? Would you, e.g., be content with a life more or less like your present life?
- (c) Can you say what elements in life (if any) are felt by you to call for its perpetuity?
- "III. Can you state *why* you feel in this way, as regards questions I. and II.?
- "IV. Do you now feel the question of a future life to be of urgent importance to your mental comfort?
- "V. Have your feelings on questions I., II., and IV. undergone change? If so, when and in what ways?
- "VI. (a) Would you like to *know for certain* about the future life, or (b) would you prefer to leave it a *matter of faith*?

"HINTS FOR COLLECTORS.

- "1. Answers should be collected by preference from educated adults.
- "2. Collectors should fill up their own papers first, and get the others answered *independently*.
- "3. Any answer, **AFFIRMATIVE OR NEGATIVE**, is valuable as a psychological fact.
- "4. Even a *refusal to answer* is a valuable indication of feeling, which it is important to record. In such case the collector should, if possible, ask the reason of the refusal, and should then fill up a census paper with the name, etc., of the refuser, inserting the reason given for refusing under the head of *Remarks*."

It will be very interesting to hear the result of this collection of the opinions of educated adults. It might be supplemented by a question as to how much in Protestant churches or Jewish synagogues the habit of appealing to a future, with its rewards and punishments, has died out. A Jewish rabbi, who was recently asked whether he had ever heard in a synagogue any reference to a future life, said that he had never made any such reference himself, and that he did not remember ever having heard any allusion to the subject in

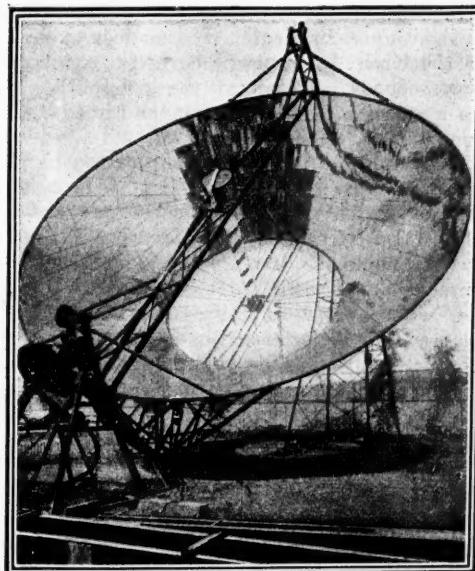
the course of his experience. It is possible that many Christian ministers would be able to bear similar testimony.

A SUN-POWER MOTOR.

IN the October *Munsey's*, an article by Mr. George P. Waldron gives an account of the successful sun motor in operation at Pasadena, Cal. Many inventors have tried to utilize directly the rays of the sun; Ericsson, builder of the *Monitor*, worked fourteen years on a motor consisting of a system of mirrors focusing the sun's light on a boiler,—in other words, a steam-engine with boiler heated by sunlight. Ericsson succeeded in producing one horse-power of energy from a surface of 100 square feet.—only one-thirtieth of the total energy contained in the sun's rays falling on such an area.

Some Boston capitalists have experimented rather extensively, and after four unsuccessful attempts, including an enormously costly silver reflector, the present motor at Pasadena has been constructed; and it not only works, but works economically.

"It is a solar motor built on the same general principle followed by Ericsson, but brought to a perfection that seems to promise practical usefulness. The essential part of the motor is a huge glass reflector, somewhat the shape of an umbrella with its top cut off. The inner surface is lined with 1,738 small mirrors, so arranged that



From the *Scientific American*.

THE SUN-POWER MOTOR.

they reflect the sunlight upon a boiler located at the center, corresponding to the handle of the umbrella. The great disk is circular, with a diameter of $33\frac{1}{2}$ feet at its broad edge, narrowing down to 15 feet at the inner opening. It is mounted on a steel frame strong enough to resist a wind of 100 miles an hour. This mounting is necessary, in order that the axis or center may always point exactly to the sun.

"The disk weighs several tons, but is moved into place in the morning with a few pounds' pressure by the hand. An indicator shows when it is exactly in focus. The position once fixed, it automatically keeps its face to the sun, being regulated by a clock, like the mounting of a great telescope. As the sun becomes concentrated upon the boiler there arises, first, a vapor like the morning dew; then the heat begins to quiver within the magic circle and along the black water-tube. In an hour there is a jet of steam, which is led into the compound engine and begins to turn a centrifugal pump; and the sun is 'drawing water' at the rate of fourteen hundred gallons a minute. When the sun descends to the horizon, the heat no longer plays upon the boiler, and the motor stops, ready to take up its task on the coming day.

"Many people who see this machine at work ask what makes it go. They seem absolutely unable to understand the idea, simple as it is. Those who do comprehend fail to appreciate the enormous power at work. Thrust a piece of copper into the focus, and it will melt directly. Let the rays fall upon a piece of wood, and the flames will shoot up as by magic. Were a man to climb into the circle, he would be burned to a crisp in a few seconds. Think of the possibilities of such a machine to the writer of the future melodrama!"

A NEW WOMAN PAINTER.

EDITH SICHEL contributes an illustrated article to the *Monthly Review* for October in praise of the work of Miss Fortescue-Brickdale, who is now exhibiting her pictures in Dowdeswell's Galleries in Bond Street, London. Miss Sichel says that they "show that originality and charm are still living—that a new and lovely imagination has arisen among us: a dreamer with dreams worth the dreaming, and a painter with a hand that can impart them."

She notes the fact that there have been very few women painters of first-class merit, for the art of painting does not offer women the same kind of opportunity for their endowments as poetry or novel-writing. She claims that Miss Brickdale "has discovered for herself a new and

intimate mode of expression, in which a woman's qualities come full into play, an art which is personal and yet not egotistical, feminine without being weak. She has found a new sort of symbolism; she has invented parable-painting. . . . Her allegory is never abstruse,—it always takes the form of poetic story-telling.

"But Miss Brickdale, of whose striking technique it is not our place here to speak, has dipped her brush in the mysterious well of enchantment, and charms the eye by curve and line and color. Her color is a feast, rich and pure enough to compare with Rosetti's, and daring with a southern brilliancy and security, whether she is sumptuous, as in the poppy-red robe of her insolent "Cnaane," and the glaring orange of her "Fame's" raiment, or whether she refreshes us by brightest greens and deepest blues and lilacs."

Miss Brickdale is not wanting in simple natural themes, and gives ample proof of it in "Riches," inspired by an almost passionless homeliness. She has made for herself a peculiarly complete form of art, an art perfect within its own confines.

"Her faults are the faults of wealth, not of poverty; her aim is always in front of her execution, her idea in advance of its expression. She is a symbolist by nature. . . . She is not only mystic in idea; she elucidates her idea by symbols that almost have the fanciful detail and minuteness of medievalism, used afresh to express her new imaginations. She is never recondite, and nearly always lucid. . . . Miss Brickdale gives delightful proof that symbolic art, which can be the most tiresome thing in the world, can also be lovely and suggestive. It is dead when it tries to revive the dead, but it lives when it is applied to new poetic fancies. Perhaps it will be a natural form of reaction against realism."

HOW A STAINED-GLASS WINDOW IS MADE.

MR. E. R. SUFFLING gives a most instructive sketch of "Stained Glass, Ancient and Modern," in the *Sunday Magazine* for September. After tracing the ups and downs of his wonderful art, he does not hesitate to say that "English glass for church windows is at the present day finer than the world has ever seen." He goes on to instruct the reader how a stained-glass window is produced:

"First a small colored design is prepared by the draughtsman, usually to a scale of one inch to the foot, which, after being altered according to suggestions made, is hung upon the wall, and from it a cartoon or full-size drawing made for the actual window. This is executed either in charcoal or sepia, on paper made expressly for

such drawings, but the cartoon is never, or very rarely, colored.

"The cartoon, being pronounced satisfactory, is laid face upward on a board and covered with a length of transparent glazing cloth upon which are marked all the lead lines which will appear in the window, so that an outline is furnished for the glazier to cut every individual piece of glass to. This 'cut-line,' as the glazier's working drawing is called, is 'colored,' not by pigments of various tints, but by the name or number of a color marked in the center of each section of glass. The 'cut-line' is now handed to the glazier with the small colored design, which he hangs over his work-board, and by its aid he matches, piece by piece, the whole window, and cuts the hundreds of fragments of which a window is composed.

"The work so far completed, the painter performs his part by laying each section of glass in its correct position on the cartoon and outlining it with a brown color, using gum arabic as a medium. After outlining carefully, the glass is handed to the kilnman for firing or 'burning in.' When cool, the glass is again returned to the painter, who, laying a large sheet of stout ordinary window glass flat over the 'cut-line,' proceeds to lay upon it all the small pieces of the window, which go to make up the subject or figure in hand. These pieces he deftly fastens down by dropping a mixture of hot wax and resin around the edge of each, in isolated drops sufficiently close to hold it in place.

"Now he raises the easel glass with the subject upon it, and places it upon his easel, where, after coating it over with a 'matt' or 'stipple' film, he proceeds to paint the glass by stippling or washing in the shadows and folds of the draperies, etc., and taking out the 'high lights' by means of sticks, quills, and short-haired brushes, of various sizes, called 'scrubs.' The painting being finished, the easel glass is again laid flat, and the various pieces detached by a sharp tap of the handle of a palette knife.

"The glass is then fired again, and the 'flesh,' as heads, hands, feet, etc., are technically termed, is painted and fired a third time, as it is more carefully treated in painting to obtain the exact tone, depth, and expression.

"Everything being perfect, the glass is again returned to the glazier, who proceeds to 'lead' the window, building piece to piece with narrow 'calmes' of lead having a groove on each side, until the whole is carefully fitted together, when every joint of the leading is soldered and the panels are raised for inspection.

"The final work is to cement the 'lights,' as the panels are now called."

MONOPOLIES AND THE LAW.

SOME valuable suggestions on "trust" legislation are contained in an article contributed by Prof. John B. Clark to the *Political Science Quarterly* for September. The key to the whole trust situation, in Professor Clark's opinion, lies in the fact that the independent producer is the natural protector of all the other interests threatened by monopolies—the consumer, the farmer, and the laborer.

"If the trust cannot crush him," says Professor Clark, "it can neither tax consumers through high prices of finished goods nor mulct farmers through low prices of raw materials; and it cannot depress the general rate of pay for labor. Goods will be produced at normal prices, and all who help to make them will get normal returns, so long as competition is kept alive.

"It is not easy to keep competition in vigorous life. The great company has ways of clubbing the men who are bold enough to rival it. This is not done by the old and familiar plan of reducing costs and underbidding the inefficient producers. That is a part of the established order of things. The economic organism has become as efficient as it is because capable producers have survived and others have perished. The process has had its serious hardships. We have been appalled by the law that holds an inexorable fate over every employer who cannot get out of labor and capital as large a product as his rivals are getting; but for society as a whole there is gain coming from this. The hope of an endless increase of productive power—of a perpetual rise in the level of all economic life—lies in the continued action of this law of survival by which only the best servants of mankind are retained.

THE TRANSPORTATION PROBLEM.

"At present the situation is the reverse of this. The interests of the public itself are now threatened by the destruction of competing producers. This is because it is no longer by reason of inferior efficiency that they are in danger of being crushed. It is not the unfit, but the particularly fit, that are in danger of going to the wall. The competing power that threatens to destroy them depends, not on economy in production, but on special and unfair fighting powers that great size gives. The really efficient producer, the man who can make goods even more cheaply than the trust can make them, is now in peril. It is this man who must at all hazards be kept in the field. We, the people, must use the law to protect him, as he uses his economic power to protect us.

"Now, the first and easiest thing for us to do, in thus guarding our guardian, is to secure for him fair treatment by railroads. If the trust

gets a rebate which he cannot get, it has him at its mercy. It may ruin him, even though he may be able to make goods more cheaply than the trust itself can make them. Moreover, it is the prohibition of pooling by the railroads themselves that subjects them to the temptation to make the discriminating charges. In a pool they would have no reason for trying to lure away from each other the traffic of the large shippers. Yet the toleration of pooling means the regulation of freight charges by the state. It has lately come about that the attempt to preserve competition among common carriers has gone far toward extinguishing it among manufacturers. Competing railroads, a struggle for the business of large producers, secret rebates to such producers, the extinction of small rivals, and an approach to monopoly in many branches of production,—this is the series of phenomena that we have recently witnessed. Railroads in pools, regulated charges, and a fair field for the small producers,—this is the alternative series; and it is the one that in the end we shall choose, unless we are driven to a much bolder course,—the giving over of railroads to the Government."

The argument is, that since railroad competition—the effort of one railroad to divert traffic from another—affords the chief incentive for secret rebates to the larger shippers, the ending of competition by means of pools would mean an end of this temptation to give rebates.

THE DANGER TO THE INDEPENDENT PRODUCER.

But even supposing the question of rate-discrimination to be settled by some form of governmental regulation of the railroads, other problems yet more difficult remain to be solved. These are outlined by Professor Clark as follows :

"There are three ways, all now well known, in which a trust can crush an efficient competitor. The rival may be producing goods cheaply, and he may be the man who normally ought to survive ; and yet the trust may ruin him. It may make use of the 'factors' agreement,' by which it gives a special rebate to those merchants who handle only its own goods. It may resort, secondly, to the local cutting of prices, whereby the trust enters its rival's special territory and sells goods there below the cost of producing them, while sustaining itself by means of higher prices charged in other portions of its field. Again, the trust may depend on the cutting of the price of some one variety of goods which a rival producer makes, in order to ruin him, while it sustains itself by means of the high prices which it gets for goods of other varieties. These three things make the position of a competitor perilous.

If the trust were prevented from resorting to them, competition, real or potential, would not only protect the public, but would insure to it a large share of the benefit that comes from economies in production. Independent mills would continue to be built, and would be equipped with machinery so efficient that a trust would have to be forever on the alert in keeping abreast with them. There is no conceivable condition in which both consumers and laborers would find their interests so well guarded as one in which trusts should be allowed to exist without let or hindrance, but in which the prices of their goods should be forced continually downward by the necessity for meeting actual or possible rivalry."

AN APPEAL TO THE COMMON LAW.

In seeking some practicable means of restraining the trusts, Professor Clark does not place his main reliance on statutory enactments.

"Where statutes are the only reliance, technicalities are in favor of the criminal, and lawyers secure immunity for him. The most efficient action that has thus far been taken in curbing the power of trusts has been taken under the common law. It forbids monopoly, and there is no possible danger that this prohibition will ever be abandoned. To tolerate a monopoly in private hands is to vest in a few persons the power to tax the rest of the community ; and this will never be permitted. The thing to be done is to discover what is a monopoly and to decide what shall be done with it where it is identified. At present there rests upon the courts the duty of determining in what cases a monopoly actually exists, and the determination has its difficulties. How shall a monopolistic corporation be defined ? Is it the only corporation from which an article can be procured ? If so, there are scarcely any such monopolies now in existence. In nearly every industry there is a fringe of independent life remaining. The trusts take the center of the field and let a few small rivals operate on the outskirts. If these are in the trust's power, and are compelled to do its bidding, the monopoly is essentially complete. If, then, new and strong competitors are precluded from appearing, the position of the monopoly is secure. It has nothing to fear on the economic side. Just here, therefore, its danger on the legal side ought to begin ; for it is the banishing not merely of the actual, but of the potential, competitor that makes it a monopoly. If the law will take it effectively in hand at the point where competition of the potential kind ceases to restrain it, nothing more is needed. Let us, then, enforce the common law as it stands."

THE PERIODICALS REVIEWED.

THE CENTURY MAGAZINE.

THE October *Century* begins with an article on "The Practice of the Law in New York" by the very well known lawyer and New Yorker, ex-Judge Henry E. Howland. Mr. Howland says there are 7,755 lawyers in New York City, under the supervision of 74 judges. Mr. Howland gives a very interesting account of the various stages in the career of a modern lawyer, beginning with the long training in college and law-school, in text-book doctrine, in the analysis and criticism of reported cases, and in the moot court. After this training, the legal apprentice enters some large firm, and probably receives no salary. He is known as a student, and in fact it requires some special influence, probably, to get him even the privilege of sitting at a desk in the outer office. He does legal errand work of various sorts, and finally begins to receive a salary of ten dollars a week. Then he becomes a higher order of clerk, with the opportunity of showing his alertness in getting the ear of the judge in the assignment of cases on the calendar. In the meantime, the young man is admitted to the bar. Judge Howland says that in a busy office a young lawyer may receive \$500 the first year after his admission to the bar, \$1,000 the second, and thereafter an increase of \$500 each year until he receives \$5,000 a year. "This is a large return for one in general employ, and is never exceeded until a man brings in his own business and receives a percentage on it or becomes a member of the firm."

THE MARQUIS ITO.

In describing "The Men of New Japan," Mary Gay Humphreys gives some remarkable facts regarding the career of the Marquis Ito. The Marquis Ito as a very young man went to England and worked his way in very much the same manner we see valets, butlers, and waiters from Japan working their way in America now. In Japan, he found the path of the reformer a thorny one. "Pursued one night by his opponents, he fled to the home of a dancing-girl. The floors of Japanese houses are covered with mats closely fitted, but the boards of the floor beneath are left loose, that the air may pass through and keep the mats dry. The quick-witted girl lifted a mat and bade the young Ito hide beneath the floor. Replacing the mat, she drew her brazier of coals over it, disposed her cushion, and when the pursuers entered she was placidly seated, warming her hands over the coals. They searched the house, and dragged the girl about the room by her hair to force her to tell where her lover was hidden. She denied all knowledge, and they, not believing that a geisha girl would remain faithful when her hair was thus pulled, accepted her statement and left the house. The faithful girl is now the Marchioness Ito, the dignified *châtelaine* of Oiso."

HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

THE October number seems to show that *Harper's Magazine* thinks better of the color illustration in its present development than do its contemporaries, as there are several further features which avail themselves of the new methods. Mr. T. M. Prudden gives an account of the great plateau west of the Rocky

Mountains, the home of the cliff-dwellers, the Zunis and the Navajoes. In going along the mesa-top, Mr. Prudden says, there are piles of hewn stones and timber-holes in front of many of the caves, showing that small buildings once stood there. The explorer finds jars and bowls in the recesses of the caves, and there are numbers of stone axes, arrow-heads, and pottery fragments along the foot of the cliffs, while picture-writing on the faces of the rocks is plain and frequent. For the tourist bent on studying these curious relics of a bygone civilization, the little old Mexican town of Espanola is the best stopping-place. Decent accommodations can be had there, and teams and good guides can be secured.

THE BIRTH OF THE "NEW PSYCHOLOGY."

President G. Stanley Hall, of Clark University, writes on "The New Psychology," and tells about some of the apparatus used in the modern laboratory methods of the student in psychology. President Hall says that the new psychology, by which is meant that method of studying the science which involves the means of actual experiments on the human organism, began with the work of the scientist E. H. Weber, about seventy years ago. This able scientist found that in the tip of the forefinger and in the lips two fine compass-points could be felt as two when they were less than one-twentieth of an inch apart, but that if they were nearer they seemed to be one. On the shoulder-blades these points had to be more than an inch, and occasionally nearly two inches, apart before they were recognized as two, and the other parts of the body were between these in sensibility. He also determined by tedious experiments how heavy a bit of pith must be in order to be just felt when it was very gently laid on the skin with forceps, and here too found great differences in different parts of the body. After repeating these experiments for more than twenty years on many people, he published an epoch-making article on the sense of touch, in 1846, and began the new science.

A quaint and attractive feature of this number of *Harper's* is Mr. Peter Newell's comments on "Alice's Adventures in Wonderland," illustrated with his own drawings of Alice and her adventures.

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE.

IN the October *Scribner's* there is a fine study of Thomas Carlyle by Mr. W. C. Brownell. Mr. Brownell, recognizing that when Carlyle died, over twenty years ago, he already belonged to the past, still thinks that the current neglect of the old hero-worshiper can scarcely continue indefinitely, "for, whatever else may be said about it, his work is literature. In the first place, its style must be preservative, as style always is in a very considerable degree." Secondly, Mr. Brownell cannot believe that such a sustained exposition of the spiritual forces of life of the world can become permanently eclipsed; and finally, Carlyle's genius is incontestable and of incomparable power.

Mr. Walter A. Wyckoff gives some incidents of the slums observed by him in Chicago while he was work-

ing as a hand-truck man in a factory at \$1.50 per day and paying for board and lodging in a tenement \$4.25 a week. The distressing stories he tells will go far toward making his readers agree with him that much of the worst suffering of the city slums is all the worse for its needlessness.

Mr. E. S. Nadal opens the magazine with a spirited account of the American institution of the agricultural fair, and especially the horse-fair part of it.

One of the most interesting features of the number is the first paper of Mr. Theodore Roosevelt's account of his mountain-lion hunting in northwest Colorado, which he writes of under the title "With the Cougar Hounds." Some remarkable photographs of the hunting scenes, and even of the mountain lions in the tops of trees to which they have been driven, add much to the liveliness of the recital. Mr. Roosevelt's own schedule of the size and weight of the cougars killed shows that these animals varied from four feet eleven inches in length to eight feet, and from forty or fifty pounds in weight to over two hundred.

MCLURE'S MAGAZINE.

FROM the October *McClure's* we have selected Mr. Ray Stannard Baker's excellent character sketch of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan and Josiah Flynt's article on "The Tammany Commandment" for quotation among the "Leading Articles of the Month."

ELEPHANT FARMING IN AFRICA.

Mr. William S. Cherry gives an account of "Elephant Hunting in Africa," and of the excitement and perils of the sport and his own particular narrow escapes. Those who are not particularly in sympathy with Mr. Cherry's account of destroying these magnificent beasts, dramatic as he makes the performance in the story, may be interested in the author's project for elephant farming in Central Africa. He thinks that with small capital he could establish an elephant ranch in Central Africa as easily as a cattle ranch is established in Texas, and he is sure it would be profitable. He thinks twenty young elephants could be caught in six months, and there is no trouble about domesticating them. The elephant calves about eighteen months old, just large enough to be independent of their mothers, are the most suitable with which to work. Mr. Cherry says he could catch as many of these as he wished. The calf does not know how to use the proboscis, which for some time has very little strength. He sucks with his mouth. The tusks are not developed till later, so that the little beast cannot hurt you unless he butts you or tramples on you. Mr. Cherry says that the domestication of the elephant in Africa is the only thing that will protect the African elephant from absolute extinction, for, with horses on which to hunt him, the elephant is doomed, and horses are already being brought into the elephant country by the Arabs.

THE COSMOPOLITAN.

IN the October *Cosmopolitan*, Mr. Charles E. Russell asks, in his title, "Are There Two Rudyard Kiplings?" and begins by quoting the verses of Mr. Kipling's latest effort, "The Lesson," and saying that if we were uninformed we should probably take them to be the hack-work of some mere ballad-maker of the music halls. To Mr. Russell, Mr. Kipling is throughout "the

voice of the Hooligan." "Summing up the work of these twelve or thirteen years, Mr. Kipling seems easily the foremost figure of their literature, and easily the most sinister and malign. He is anomalous. He has the sense of laughter, but not of tears. He writes about men, but not to them."

Mr. John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers of America, presents "The Mine Worker's Life and Aims," describes the details of the miner's work and home hours, the struggle by the union for its objects, and draws a rather dismal picture of what the world holds for the man who digs anthracite coal. He calls attention to the fact that nearly one hundred and fifty thousand more men are employed in the mines than are required to produce all the coal which is possible for our nation to consume. The consequence of this is that, with an enormous export trade, the men and boys that work in the mines had only two hundred days' employment last year.

Mr. Rafford Pyke essays the subject of "What Men Like in Women," Mr. George Gibbs describes "The Daring of John Paul Jones," Lavinia Hart gives a sketch of Sir Thomas Lipton, and Lionel Strachey writes on "The Inefficiency of the British Officer." His criticism of the British officer's efficiency is in the large that he does not take a business view of his profession, as does, for instance, the American officer; that fashion and social questions hold too large a part in his consideration of his career.

FRANK LESLIE'S MONTHLY.

"FRANK LESLIE'S" for October opens with a readable account of the Texas Rangers by Mr. Earl Mayo. Mr. Mayo considers the Rangers the most efficient police force in the world. Yet they are not exactly policemen,—they are a military body acting directly under the authority of the State, and yet their work is not that of troopers. They enjoy the powers of civil peace officers, and yet they are neither deputy sheriffs nor policemen. They are set apart by no badge or uniform of office. The field of their activities is as wide as the State they serve, and their duties are bounded only by the limits of possible infractions of law and order. Take a city policeman, a sheriff, a State militiaman, and a United States trooper, and combine their manifold duties in one, and you have an idea of the work of the Texas Ranger. Mr. Mayo gives some wonderful examples of the courage, the endurance, the marksmanship, and the devotion of this curious body of officials. Each man provides his own horse and equipment, while the State gives him arms, ammunition, and rations, and sixty dollars a month. The Rangers are a body of picked men—adventurous spirits who undertake their dangerous calling for the love of it. They consist of ex-cow-punchers, Indian scouts, and guides, and some of them are college men from the East who have shown that they could and would fight and were capable of spending sixteen hours out of the twenty-four in the saddle.

A NEW HIGH EXPLOSIVE.

Mr. Hudson Maxim, the famous inventor of smokeless powder, gives an enthusiastic account of his last, and what he considers his greatest, invention,—maxomite, a high explosive that has just been adopted by the United States Government. Maximite has the wonderful properties combined with powerful explosive power

which allow it to be molded and cast into shells, and which prevent it from exploding from the severest impact. A projectile filled with maximite can be fired right through an armor plate and will not explode unless the proper fuse is used. Melted cast iron can be poured upon a mass of the explosive without danger. Thus, a shell loaded with maximite can be thrown through the thickest armor of an enemy's vessel, to explode inside the ship. Mr. Maxim says that the new developments in naval warfare mean positively that the ponderous battleship must go and be replaced by the small, swift torpedo boat, or torpedo gunboat and cruiser, and practically unarmored, as no protection whatever can avail against such missiles.

THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL.

In the October *Ladies' Home Journal* there are some capital anecdotes of James A. MacNeill Whistler, in the "Untold Stories of an Eccentric Man," by Lillian B. Griffin. The artist's appearance at his first teaching lesson is described as follows: "At 11 o'clock came a gentle knock on the studio door, and in response to Madame Viti's 'Entré,' a small man, clad in a long Prince Albert coat and a student's tall hat, appeared. He nodded to the class, placed his stick in a corner, and very leisurely proceeded to remove his hat and a pair of black gloves. He was as calm as if he had spent his life in a classroom. He was much shorter than the average of his pupils. He wore a white turn-down collar, and for a necktie he had a strip of two-inch black ribbon that had been cut through the center. The edges were raveled, and the ends hung half-way to his waist. His famous white lock, which is two inches from his forehead and directly over his right eye, was tied up with a jaunty little bow of narrow black ribbon. The general aspect of the man was grotesque and suggestive of caricature, but the face was strong, masterly, and fine of feature. It revealed no trace of the Whistler best known to the public. His expression was slightly melancholy, but keen, active, and changeable. Above all, his face was serious—spiritually serious and intently full of purpose. He was afterward described by one of his pupils as 'a clean, neat little old gentleman with a quiet, gentle manner.'"

In the course of some shrewd and kindly advice "To a Young Man About to Marry," Mr. Bok, the editor, advances the opinion that a man is pretty apt to come out all right by intrusting his income entirely to his wife. "A man, when it comes to money matters, is generally one of two things: he is either penurious or he is extravagant. The happy medium is far more often found with women than with men. Women may not know quite so much about the technique of financing, but I have noticed that where there is any saving of money to be done in a household, it is generally the woman who is asked to do the saving, and it is she who does it—and does it often, too, while the husband keeps on spending. There are, of course, impossible women just as there are impossible men, and I think that probably if a close census were taken we should find as many of one as of the other. The fools in this world are about equally divided between the sexes. But take women as a sex, and the normal, womanly woman in particular, a husband's money is pretty safe in the hands of the wife who loves him. If men never took any greater chances than to give what they earn to their

wives, there would be a great deal less money lost, and there would be thousands fewer pinched families in the world."

LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE.

In the October *Lippincott's* the complete novel of the month is "The Anvil," by R. V. Risley.

There is a reminiscent article by Anne H. Wharton entitled "Petticoat Politics," in which she tells of the efforts of President Jackson to make Washington society accept Mrs. Eaton, the wife of Jackson's Secretary of War, and formerly the daughter of an Irish tavern-keeper. The writer thinks Jackson's attempt to command a place for Mrs. Eaton among the decorous and well-bred women of the official circles of Washington was certainly arbitrary and ill-judged. There is an account, too, of Jackson's marriage with Mrs. Robards, when Jackson had heard of her divorce from her husband, but really before it had been granted. The story is told of Mrs. Jackson's breaking her heart and dying over some gossip about herself, casually overheard, which was to the effect that she would be a great handicap to the President's career on account of the questionable divorce and marriage.

Mr. Austin Dobson contributes a very pleasant essay on "Titled Authors of the Eighteenth Century," in which he esteems Horace Walpole the most illustrious of them all.

THE WORLD'S WORK.

In the *World's Work* for October, Mr. William E. Smythe, author of "The Conquest of Arid America," describes the reclaiming of the salt desert in the extreme Southwest, under the title "The Blooming of a Sahara." He thinks the valleys traversed by the Colorado River and its tributaries will constitute the future power of the Southwest, and that cheap power and irrigation will bring into existence towns, manufactures, and a dense agricultural population where there is now a desert. Government measurements show that at its lowest stage the Colorado River carries water enough to irrigate eight million acres, and that only about three million acres are so situated as to be susceptible of irrigation by gravity.

GETTING AT THE ANDES' WEALTH.

Mr. C. Lockhart tells of the beginning in opening the riches of the Andes, in the construction of a railroad in Ecuador from Guayaquil to Quito, the land where the Incas had their wealth. General Alfaro, the President of Ecuador, realized that only an American could build this road, and his minister to the United States obtained the services of Mr. Archer Harman, the son of a Confederate officer and a railroad contractor, intimate with the difficulties of mountain railroad work. Mr. Harman not only started the railroad along, but he financed it in London, and he placed Ecuador on a gold basis. Not satisfied with this, he took the field with Alfaro's generals, and helped defeat the Colombians who had invaded the country. The entire railroad line from Quito to the coast will be finished by July 1, 1902. The coast district already tapped now furnishes 40 per cent. of the chocolate of the world, and there is magnificent prospect for sugar, coffee, tobacco, and fruits. On the high plains about Quito a fertile ground and cattle country exists. In the south, there are magnificent

veins of gold; in the north, enormous quantities of silver, and in the east of Ecuador, great tracts of rubber forest untouched except for what the Indians bring out on their hunts.

RUSSIA'S DANGER.

Mr. Sydney Brooks, writing on "Russia as a Great World Power," thinks that there are signs that the English democracy is slowly feeling its way to a thorough understanding with Russia on all points where their interests seem to clash. The importance of this to Russia is expressed in his opinion that alliance to-day between England, Germany, and Japan would thwart all that Russia has striven for since the days of Peter the Great, would bring her internal affairs to unexampled ruin, and cut her off for centuries from the warm seas. Such an alliance, however, Mr. Brooks thinks wildly improbable.

Mr. Earl Mayo shows the value of good roads as a public investment, Irene M. Ashley makes a report on "Child Labor in Southern Cotton Mills" as a result of a personal investigation, and R. E. Phillips writes of the George Junior Republic, under the title "The Art of Saving Character."

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

FROM the September number of the *North American* we have selected the Hon. Henry S. Boutell's paper on the Rush-Bagot Convention for review and quotation in our department of "Leading Articles of the Month."

Prof. Goldwin Smith's analysis of the political situation in England leaves little ground for hope on the part of British Liberalism. Not only have the Liberals, under the leadership of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, suffered from the influence of the war fever in the country, but the growth of the imperial idea seems to point to increased Tory influence in every branch of the government. The question on which the Liberal party, in Professor Smith's opinion, is most likely again to form a front and advance is that of the disestablishment of the state church.

CHINESE EXCLUSION.

Mr. Ho Yow, Chinese consul-general to the United States, writes a searching criticism of the Chinese-exclusion laws, which have now been on the statute-books of the United States for twenty years. In concluding this criticism, he says:

"America cannot fight China's people and enjoy those benefits which can only arise through peace and good feeling. Even now, the class of Chinese who could confer most advantage on America and our country by coming to the United States never thinks of coming. This class recoils from the thought of subjecting itself to the insult and imprisonment which are inflicted upon every Chinese person seeking entrance to the United States under the exclusion laws. Only a few returning laborers and a handful of merchants of the poorer class ever try to enter the United States. America has cut away from herself a nation which by simple justice and fairness of treatment she might mold to her own advantage. This cutting off has been done, and is now being done, in blind ignorance, under the erroneous belief that it is benefiting the people it is most seriously harming."

RUSSIA AND POPULAR EDUCATION.

No less a personage than his excellency Constantin Pobiedonostseff, procurator of the Holy Synod of Russia, comes to the defense of his country in an article contributed to this number of the *North American* as a reply to Prince Kropotkin's recent attack on the Russian system of public education. In this article the contention is made that Kropotkin wrote without knowledge of the village-clergy schools—institions which either did not exist at all in Kropotkin's time, or, if they existed, were generally neglected. Under the reign of Alexander III., these schools were placed on a new footing and grew rapidly, so that they are now described as the most serviceable schools in Russia.

ENGLAND'S NATIONAL DEBT.

In an exceptionally well-informed and instructive article on "The Public Debt of Great Britain," Mr. Harold Cox gives the following statement of the comparative burden of the national debt on the British people at different periods :

	Annual charge per head of population.	s. d.
1763, end of Seven Years' War	9 7	
1784, end of American War of Independence.....	14 2	
1815, end of Napoleonic wars	34 8	
1870, after prolonged peace.....	15 9	
1900, at beginning of South African war.....	9 0	

The yield of the income tax has increased nearly threefold since 1815, partly through the growth in the size of large incomes, and still more through the increased number of moderate incomes. Assuming that the improvement in the position of the working classes has been as great as that of the well-to-do classes, Mr. Cox estimates that the average income has nearly trebled since 1815.

OTHER ARTICLES:

The number opens with a hitherto unpublished essay on Shakespeare by Victor Hugo. Dr. J. M. Buckley writes on "The Phantom Fortress of Christian Science," the Princess Ysenburg on "Reform in Woman's Dress," and Mr. W. D. Howells on "Some Anomalies of the Short Story."

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

IN the October *Atlantic Monthly* there is an unusually well-informed article by Mr. R. R. Bowker on the remarkable manipulation of the securities of the corporations controlling the lighting and transportation facilities of New York City, and we have quoted from this in another department.

WILL NEGROES VOTE IN THE SOUTH?

The October number opens with an editorial article on "Reconstruction and Disfranchisement," which takes the view that the South should be and is being left to herself in her settlement of the race question, that she must learn by open blunders, and that there is ground for confidence that she will yet come out of the problem with honor and success when thrown upon her own responsibility and freed from jealous fear of Northern interference. The *Atlantic Monthly* does not think the South will permanently refuse the ballot

to colored men of education and property who have attested their value to the community.

THE EXCUSE OF SLAVERY.

Mr. William A. Dunning heads his discussion of the same subject "The Undoing of Reconstruction," and he notes the recent constitutional amendments of various States in the South which have made the political equality of the negro extinct in law, as it has long been in fact. He calls to our attention the idea of Jefferson, Clay, and Lincoln, that much more would be needed than abolition and negro suffrage to remove the last drag on our national progress; that the ultimate root of the trouble in the South has been, not the institution of slavery, but the coexistence in the one society of two races so distinct in characteristics as to render coalescence impossible; that slavery has been a *modus vivendi* through which social life was possible, and that after its disappearance its place must be taken by some set of conditions which, as more humane and beneficent in accidents, must in essence express the same fact of racial inequality.

THE FORUM.

IN Mr. Benjamin Taylor's review of "The Commercial Position of the British Empire," which opens the September *Forum*, the external trade of Great Britain and her colonies is compared with that of each of her three greatest competitors, as follows:

	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
British Empire.....	£811,678,200	£660,399,363	£1,472,077,572
United States	194,905,000	332,980,000	527,885,000
Germany	277,823,350	220,716,650	498,540,000
France	176,341,200	163,121,280	339,462,480

CHILD STUDY AND EDUCATIONAL METHODS.

President G. Stanley Hall writes on "The Ideal School as Based on Child Study." The teachers in our secondary schools, says Dr. Hall, must teach more and know more. Secondary teachers in Europe are mostly doctors of philosophy. "If we could move many university professors to the college, many college professors to the high school, many high-school teachers to the grammar school, and some grammar-school teachers, with at least a sprinkling of college graduates, into the kindergarten, it would do much. In the German and the French school, the teacher is one who knows a great deal about this subject and is nearer to original sources; who tells the great truths of the sciences almost like stories; and who does not affect the airs and methods of the university professor. Very many secondary teachers are masters and authorities. Here, most of our university pedagogy is a mere device for so influencing high-school principals and teachers as to correlate curricula, in order to corral in students, and little interest is taken in the grammar grades, and none in the kindergarten."

A MODEL FACTORY TOWN.

Mrs. Leonora Beck Ellis has discovered in Pelzer, S. C., "the model factory town of the South." In Pelzer there are about one thousand dwellings, averaging four rooms each, and rented at the rate of fifty cents a room per month.

"Each little home has its allotted garden space for

flowers and vegetables, besides the use of the common meadow land for pasturing cows free of charge. Water is supplied to every dwelling, and all sanitary as well as street work is carried on at the company's expense. Consequently, the entire town, from end to end, is as tidy and tasteful as a good housewife's guest-chamber."

The town boasts of excellent graded schools, and the factory company has provided a "Lyceum," containing a circulating library, lecture hall, etc., the privileges of which are free to all residents.

CUBAN SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Regarding the experiment of independent government of Cuba by Cubans, Mr. Edmond Wood makes the following gloomy predictions:

"The revenues will decrease and expenses will increase; projected improvements, absolutely necessary for the development of the country, will languish; schools will be neglected; sanitary measures will not be intelligently prosecuted; and the country will retrograde."

All these grave results are threatened, even apart from the danger of such revolutions as have repeatedly visited the Latin-American republics and Central and South America.

FINLAND AND RUSSIA.

The autocratic action of the Russian Government in Finland has already, according to Mr. Eugene Limendorfer, produced disastrous results in the province, Finnish industry and agriculture have suffered severely. The taking of young men out of the population for military service has undermined the country's prosperity. There are not enough men left to till the soil. The people are actually at times in distress from hunger—"a condition which was totally unknown as long as the country was self-governing or was a part of Sweden, in spite of the fact that its crops have failed occasionally."

THE GERMAN TARIFF PROPOSALS.

After a careful investigation of German agricultural conditions, Mr. Jacob Schoenhoef concludes that the new tariff regulations proposed by the Reichsrath can do very little injury to American interests, but that they threaten a most cruel infliction on the German people themselves—all for the sole benefit of 300,000 German landholders.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Gen. Den Beer Poortugael, of the Netherlands, writes on "England, Portugal, and the South African Republics;" Sir John G. Bourinot on "Royal Visits to Canada," Karl Blind on "English Neglect of Old Indian Poetry," Prof. Peter T. Austen on "The Utilization of Waste," Mr. F. W. Clarke on "The Evolution of the American University," Mr. George A. Thacher on "The Southern Problem," and Prof. Richard Burton on "The Essay as Mood and Form."

THE ARENA.

IN the September *Arena*, Prof. Thomas E. Will writes on "A Menace to Freedom: The College Trust." Professor Will cites several instances of the dismissal of professors from American college and university faculties as an alleged result of their economic teachings. Professor Will deduces from these cases of the apparent abridgment of academic freedom the inference that American wealth is seeking to control higher educa-

tion. This control may be exercised, he conceives, in three ways: institutions may be constructed wholly by the gifts of millionaires; or the small colleges already existing may be aided by some millionaires, in which case the gratitude and business sense of the institutions may be counted on "to refrain from biting the hand that feeds them;" or, in the third place, the State educational institutions may be controlled by the same influences, although Professor Will does not make it clear how this latter end is to be accomplished. In concluding his article, Professor Will calls upon the friends of freedom in education to unite on one institution and make it for the modern social movement what Oberlin was for the antislavery movement.

POLITICAL MOVEMENT OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Prof. Frank Parsons continues his instructive series of articles on the political progress of the last century. His contrast between the conditions of 1800 and those of 1900 is most impressive. The Czar of Russia, the Sultan of Turkey, and the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin are now the only absolute rulers in Europe; all others are constitutional, with the fundamental powers of legislation and taxation in the hands of the people. Throughout the Americas, Australia, and civilized Europe, manhood suffrage is the basis of government, with varying provisions in respect to age, residence, criminality, etc., to guard the ballot against the lack of due intelligence, character, and interest. Women have secured the full suffrage in four of our States, and in New Zealand, West Australia, South Australia, Madras, and the Isle of Man. Partial suffrage has been accorded them in twenty-six of our States and in many foreign countries. Professor Parsons estimates the area of countries in which the principle of woman suffrage has been recognized in the last thirty years at about twenty million square miles, with a population of about four hundred millions,—roughly, one-third of the world (two-fifths of the land area and four-fifths of the population). Much progress is also to be noted in perfecting the methods and machinery of popular government,—the Australian ballot, civil-service reform, proportional representation in Belgium and Switzerland, direct legislation in Switzerland and the United States, direct nominations by petition or by primary election, preferential voting, corrupt practices acts, the automatic ballot, provisions against special legislation and for municipal liberty, home-made charters, etc.

JOHN LAW AND J. PIERPONT MORGAN.

Mr. Robert A. Wood draws a parallel between John Law, the financier of the eighteenth century, and Mr. J. P. Morgan, the financier of the twentieth. The general similarity between the financial schemes of Law, culminating in the "Mississippi Bubble," and the financial exploitation of the present day is pointed out; and Mr. Wood asserts that the same methods employed by Law one hundred and eighty-two years ago, if employed to-day, would have produced the same result as that accomplished by Mr. Morgan; or, possibly as a more fortunate manner of expressing it, the methods of Mr. Morgan would have produced the same result as Law's. Overcapitalization might be charged as a primary cause of Law's failure. "John Law, before the bursting of the Bubble, had accomplished in the financial world of 1719 substantially what J. Pierpont Morgan has in that of 1901. Will the parallel stop there?"

THE LATE JAMES A. HERNE.

"James A. Herne: Actor, Dramatist, and Man," is the subject of articles by Hamlin Garland, J. J. Enneking, and B. O. Flower. Mr. Garland summarizes Mr. Herne's characteristics as a dramatist in the closing paragraph of his contribution: "As an actor, he loved all quaintly humorous, unconsciously self-sacrificing characters—just as in life the cause of a self-immolating reformer like Henry George appealed to him with regenerative power. His humanitarian enthusiasm and his plays, 'Shore Acres' and 'Margaret Fleming,' expressed the man as I knew him. He made himself a national force in our drama, and the best of his teaching has already entered into the stage-craft of our day."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. W. A. Hawley writes on "The Single Tax as a Happy Medium," Mr. Frank Exline on "Law and Liberty," and Miss Frances A. Keillor, in her series of papers on "The Criminal Negro," discusses childhood influences. The opening article of the number is a lecture by Prof. George D. Herron, entitled "The Recovery of Jesus from Christianity."

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE.

THE September number of *Gunton's* has an interesting discussion by Dr. Van Buren Denslow of the question "Is 'America' a Native or an Imported Name?" Dr. Denslow summarizes three attempts made, respectively, by Prof. Jules Marcou, in 1875; Lambert, in 1883, and de St. Bris, in 1888, to prove that the name was not derived from Vespuccius. Dr. Denslow rightly holds that the question should be authoritatively settled, and that the United States of America might well join with the other American powers of the three continents in appointing a commission of historical, ethnological, and linguistic experts to determine it. Inasmuch as the question has to be yearly brought before fifty millions of youth in schools on three continents, it is important that the truth of the matter should be ascertained.

THE COFFEE-HOUSE PLAN.

Mr. Arthur Lawrence Sweetser makes an interesting proposition looking to the supply of some adequate substitute for a saloon in our large cities. He has found that the coffee-house is a success in Great Britain, and can see no reason why it should not succeed here. The coffee-house, in his opinion, should contain:

"1. A restaurant where wholesome and well-cooked food at a cheap rate may be obtained at all hours.

"2. A reading-room and smoking-room, supplied with the latest magazines, newspapers, comic and illustrated weeklies, with sufficiently stringent rules to insure moderately good behavior.

"3. A room for billiards and pool with careful supervision for the prevention of gambling.

"4. A large hall, which could be used for lectures or as a meeting-room for religious services on Sunday.

"5. And last, but not least, as 'cleanliness is next to godliness,' hot and cold baths should be provided at the lowest possible rate."

He would have these coffee-houses located in the poorest districts, where the need is greatest.

CORPORATIONS IN POLITICS.

In an unsigned article on "Influence of Corporations on Government," the point is made that the

pernicious influence of corporations in politics does not arise from the interest of large corporations to control the government, but from the interest of corrupt and degenerate politicians to control large corporations. The sums paid by the large corporations to the modern syndicated lobby, or, in other words, to the "bosses," are paid, not because the corporations need legislation or because they want to control the Government, but simply for protection against disastrous legislation which would injure their business. Many corporations which are blackmailed by the lobbyists would regard it as a great blessing to be entirely free from politics and entangling relations with the Government. The remedy is to be found, then, in purifying the machinery of our politics. "Take from the boss the power to blackmail the corporation, and the corporation will gladly disappear from politics. Deprive the boss of the power to deliver legislation, and the corporation will cease to pay him for political protection." The writer would eliminate the boss from politics by establishing direct nominations by the people.

THE INTERNATIONAL MONTHLY.

THE leading literary essay of the *International Monthly* for September is a paper by Mr. Edmund Gosse, the brilliant critic, on "The Historic Place of Mr. Meredith and Mr. Hardy." In concluding his estimate of these distinguished contemporary novelists, Mr. Gosse remarks: "By dint of the earnestness with which these two great imaginative writers have approached life, something harmonious and stately has transferred itself to their pages. In Mr. Meredith it is the sparkle and rhythm of a divine and incomunicable grace, the melodious movement of a dancer. In Mr. Hardy it is the impressive solidity, the suffusion, the strength, the fullness of color in a solemn landscape. But the more we reflect the less can we trace a resemblance between two authors whose main point of kinship is their sincerity and their priestly adhesion to all that is best in the traditional ritual of letters."

THE LATE PROFESSOR LE CONTE.

Prof. Josiah Royce, of Harvard University, who was a pupil many years ago of Dr. Joseph Le Conte, of the University of California, offers an eloquent tribute to the memory of his former teacher and friend. In those days Professor Le Conte's university lectures treated, in an elementary way, of botany, zoölogy, and geology in succession. The professor had to work without assistants, and laboratory and field work were not then recognized parts of instruction in the elementary college courses in these departments. "But what the courses lacked in thoroughness," says Professor Royce, "they made up, so far as that was at all possible, in philosophical spirit, in breadth of view, in the before-mentioned architectural and artistic skill of exposition, in depth of insight into problems, in a desire to give our minds true freedom, and, finally, in attention to what Le Conte himself recognized as the Logic of Science. Upon this last aspect of his topic, Le Conte laid no little stress. We were certain, he told us, to forget in later years most of what he said. He hoped and desired that we should not wholly forget the method of work. . . . In no one else with whom I have come in personal contact have I ever found the same union of the love of details with the success in an artistically beautiful oral presentation, in elementary lectures, of

what he conceived to be their system. Many as fascinating lecturers you may find, but such are seldom as thorough workers as he was. Many more productive men of science exist, but few of them are as much artists as was Le Conte."

THE DANGER OF PRO-FOREIGN SYMPATHIES IN CHINA.

The Baroness von Heyking, writing on "Diplomatic Life in Peking," says: "Neither Li Hung Chang nor any of the other members of the Tsung-li-Yamen ever returned the compliment of asking one of us to their houses. None of them has an establishment for entertaining foreigners, and as there is not one of the princes or the Tsung-li-Yamen ministers or the other high officials at Peking who knows a single word of a European language, they probably shun as much as we do the occasions of meeting us and of having to exchange insipid remarks by the help of interpreters. Besides, they always dread being denounced to the highest authority of the land as pro-foreign and dangerous, which is apt to be the case if they associate much with members of the various legations. Chinese officials who may have kindly received and entertained foreign ministers at their homes in Shanghai or in the different Yangtse ports, will carefully avoid calling at the legations if ever they come to Peking—so afraid are they that a false construction might be put on so natural an action."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. John Le Farge writes on "Art and Artists," Prof. James Sully on "The Laughter of Savages," M. Anatole Le Braz on "The Popular Drama in Brittany," Mr. Kenyon Cox on "English Painting and French," and Mr. F. W. Williams on "The Bases of Chinese Society."

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

FROM the *Contemporary Review* for September we have quoted elsewhere M. de Bloch's "Wars of the Future" and Mr. Havelock Ellis' "Genius of Russia." The other articles are of equal interest, but not easily quotable. "Vernon Lee" writes on "Art and Usefulness." Ada Cone has a paper of severe criticism entitled "The Art Problem in the United States." Her article is a polemic against the prevalent American and British servility to French ideas in art. French art, she maintains, has been dead for three centuries. It is no longer creative, but imitative and false.

"The United States have something better to do than to make themselves an echo of the ruin of Europe. Our geographical and social conditions are different; we face an age in which materials have acquired new meaning; in which the future poses new questions to art which art must answer. The French system evades these problems; we are not in the habit of shirking responsibilities, and we should find solutions. It is not in imitative drawing, or in flower-analyzing, or in acanthus-scroll copying that we shall advance. An art to cope with the future implies the rejection of these methods. Our problems lie between us and our materials, and our art, to be truly ours and to be truly great, must be born out of the labor of the people. It is for us to learn that 'if art wishes to be divine, its action must be useful to the world.'"

ORGANIZATION AND EMPIRE.

Mr. E. Wake Cook has a somewhat abstract article on "The Organization of Mankind," the practical applica-

tion of which is perhaps best expressed in the following paragraph :

"There is no reason why an empire such as ours should not be much more truly happy and prosperous than it has yet been, if we organize it scientifically. The loss of our abnormal position in foreign trade will be a blessing if we exercise foresight. In the furtherance of the world-purpose it was necessary that the progressive nations should for a time worship foreign trade as a fetish, and as the chief means of prosperity. Nothing else would have given them the needed stimulus and forced them to such herculean efforts to conquer and keep foreign markets. But when all foreign markets have been opened up, and we have unintentionally educated other races, not only to supply their own wants, but to swamp us with their manufactures, then we must readjust our ideas and adopt less one-sided aims. In our ambition to be the Cheap John of the world, we have developed some of our resources abnormally, and neglected others. To foster foreign trade, we converted a large part of our island home into black country : we have been prodigally wasteful of our mineral resources, and have neglected our agriculture. In striving for foreign markets, we have neglected the best market in the world,—the home market,—and left ourselves miserably dependent on the foreigner. This is really incipient heart disease of the empire."

THE MESSAGE OF INDIA.

Mr. Charles Johnston has a very interesting article under this title, from which we can quote only the concluding words :

"We shall shortly come to perceive, in the Rajput race of ancient India, the same perfection of revelation, but in a region higher and more vital : the divination of our invisible selves, of the hidden selves of others, and of the one Self above us all. And realizing this, we shall begin to realize the significance of India, and of the message India brings."

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

IN the *Nineteenth Century and After* for September is presented the conclusion of Mr. Auberon Herbert's paper on "Assuming the Foundations." It is a profound and subtle statement of the case in favor of reconsidering the assumptions which form the foundation of all our creeds, especially our political creeds ; but it is not of a nature that can be summarized in the space at our disposal. No one writes better than Mr. Herbert, and there is no more independent thinker living. But articles like this, which go to the roots of things, cannot be dealt with in a paragraph in a review.

We have also Prince Kropotkin's paper on "Recent Science," and Sir Wemyss Reid's chronique.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY AT THE CORONATION.

Mr. Somers Clarke, the architect of St. Paul's Cathedral, contributes an article with two plans of the abbey, one a plan of the eastern limb of the abbey, prepared for the coronation : the other a sketch showing the way in which he would provide accommodation for the crowd that will assemble at 4 o'clock in the morning and wait all day in the abbey in order to be present at the ceremony. He suggests that a temporary hall should be erected at the extreme western end of the abbey, between Dean's Yard and Westminster Hospital. This he supplements by further suggestions. He says :

"In addition to the suggestion for the temporary hall, our plan also shows a project by which, although the multitude must be assembled in good time, it need not be drafted off into the church until a comparatively short time before the hour appointed for the ceremony. Let the area of Dean's Yard be covered in ; within this space is abundant room for those conveniences which have hitherto actually been set up within the church itself, and for any amount of breakfast-tables. Persons to be seated in the south side of the church could here be assembled. Similar inclosures set up at Poets' Corner and in St. Margaret's Churchyard would serve for the north side of the church and parts of the eastern limb."

INTERNATIONAL BOAT-RACING.

Mr. W. B. Woodgate discusses the question raised during the recent Henley week as to whether foreigners should be allowed to compete at Henley, or whether some other method should be adopted for securing international boat-racing. He propounds a scheme of his own. He says :

"All pros and cons considered, I feel that an institution of special international cups contemporaneous and coördinate with any closure of Henley, and recognized as part and parcel of one homogeneous plan, is of primary importance. Second only to this, I lay stress on the importance of the entire reform being under the Henley executive, both for the sake of fair fame of home aquatics and to insure efficient administration. The suggestion as to diplomatic negotiations for the possible reconstitution of the Gold Cup is but subsidiary—sentimental, but not absolutely essential."

ITALIAN EMIGRANTS FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

A somewhat novel suggestion is made by Jonkheer van Citters in a paper entitled "An Alternative to Kaffir Labor." His idea is that the best thing to be done in South Africa is to flood it with cheap Italian labor. He says :

"Why not get Italians from South Italy in large crowds, with women and children, who can work without being mixed with black laborers ? The colonial government could begin by using them, establishing a general system of irrigation which is very much required, and cover at the same time the mountains, and other waste land, with wood, which gives good produce where it has been done, and would, in the long run, establish a more regular rainfall. They could be gradually handed over to the farmers, especially as they cultivate in Italy almost the same things as in South Africa. The farmers could, to keep them, assure them a share in their profits to encourage better cultivation and attach them to the place ; in fine, they may become gradually small tenants of the big farmers, which would be the saving of the South African colonies."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. Sidney Webb offers a social programme for British Liberal Imperialists, and Mr. Edward Dicey discusses the alleged overrepresentation of Ireland in the British Parliament.

There are four other articles : Mr. Lord's essay on Lord Lytton's novels, Mr. Henry Mangan's account of the sieges of Derry and Limerick, Mrs. Henry Birchenough's account of "Sketches in a Northern Town," and M. Jusserand's article on "Tennis," which can only be mentioned, but call for no particular notice.

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

IN the September number of the *Westminster*, Mr. M. D. O'Brien recalls with peculiar timeliness "the principles of Gladstone's foreign policy." The logical development of Gladstone's conception of the European concert he finds in the idea of maintaining the peace of the world "by means of an organized international force composed of the armies and navies of the various federated states, and placed under the control of an international parliament and executive, formed on purely democratic lines, and consisting of representatives freely elected by the federated peoples of the world." This he considers much more practicable than the Jingo's idea of bringing all other nations under England's imperial sway. It is, he insists, the truly Liberal policy.

AFTER FEUDALISM AND CAPITALISM, WHAT?

The coming crisis for democracy is, according to Mr. John E. Ellam, the choice as to what system shall supersede capitalism, as capitalism superseded feudalism. When there are no more new markets to open up for the absorption of its surplus products, capitalism is bound to collapse. The alternatives are the establishment of the brotherhood of humanity or anarchy. The duty urged is to repudiate specious imperialism and work to develop an enlightened democracy.

VARIOUS REMEDIES FOR SOCIAL ILLS.

Mr. J. M. A. Brown argues that the evolution of the social organism must advance from militarism and sacerdotalism to intellectualism and industrialism, and calls on trade-unions to lead in a campaign for the disestablishment of the Church and the peers.

A forbidding picture is drawn by Mr. F. A. White of the consequences of the Boer war—disappearance of all chance of old-age pensions, better housing, etc., moral deterioration of the people, South Africa permanently hostile, Europe ready to fall on and Polandize England, the United States open to annex Canada and Jamaica, the yellow peril imported into Rhodesia; and his proposals how to prevent the recurrence of such wars are correspondingly drastic: such as the impeachment of all members of the government responsible for them, prohibition of any discussion in the press of controversy with foreign powers, freedom of every soldier on conscientious grounds to refuse to fight, and the cession of Malta to Italy.

FROM 1850 TO 1900.

Middle-class culture in England, as he knew it fifty years ago, is piquantly described by J. G. Alger. He recalls "the general conviction in 1851 that great wars had almost or entirely ceased." With this optimism was linked a common expectation of the near end of the world. Omens and charms were believed in. Spite of theological bigotry, the demarcation between Church and Dissent in the villages was not so great as now. In the costliness and paucity of newspapers, lectures were popular. The old awe for parson and squire has disappeared. Trade has lost its social discredit.

AN ENGLISHMAN'S VIEW OF AMERICAN EDUCATION.

Education in the United States is instructively characterized by Mr. C. P. Gooch. Of the elementary schools he remarks that "no other nation devotes so much time to arithmetic, or so much attention to its own history." He says: "The ideal of education in the United States

is to spend eight years at an elementary school, four at a secondary school, and four at a college." He finds "the brightest features in American education" to be "the universal recognition of its importance, the earnest study of its conditions, the ungrudging supply of money, its cheapness, and the mixture of classes which it involves."

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

THE *Fortnightly Review* for September publishes a special literary supplement of fifty pages. It contains a serious comedy in four acts by Mrs. W. K. Clifford, entitled "A Long Duel."

We notice elsewhere Mr. Schiller's discussion of the question whether men desire immortality, and Mr. E. B. Iwan-Müller's paper on "The Settlement of South Africa."

Mr. Marillier's article on "Social Psychology in Contemporary French Fiction" is a brilliant literary essay. Mr. George Paston discourses upon Mrs. Lynn Linton under the title of "A Censor of Modern Womanhood." Mr. J. A. R. Marriott writes on "University Reform in the Victorian Era," and Mr. W. Roberts gives a good deal of interesting information as to the prices realized at the recent sale of the Ashburnham Library, with the result that he shows that book-collecting is not a bad investment.

GERHARDT HAUPTMANN.

Beatrice Marshall writes enthusiastically concerning this modern German dramatist. She says:

"Since Heine passed away, no figure, with the exception of Hermann Sudermann, has occupied so commanding a position in the literature of the Fatherland, or attracted more attention to those Germanic 'Elysian Fields' which to-day are situated, not in Weimar, but in the capital of the Hohenzollerns."

She describes and criticizes most of his work. Writing of one of his plays, she says:

"It is a piece of life, a divining-rod glimpse into the inner workings of the human soul. There is not a character in it—from the great, simple-hearted muscular hero himself, down to the small tatterdemalion scrap of misery, Bertha, Hanna's unloved, neglected bastard—who does not live and breathe, palpitate and throb, with that amazing vitality which is one of the distinguishing qualities of Hauptmann's talent, the secret in a great measure of his success as a dramatist."

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

Judge O'Connor Morris writes an historical and somewhat commonplace article on the "Irish University Commission and University Education in Ireland." He says:

"If the Irish Protestant and the Irish Catholic are to be placed on equal levels in University life; if high Irish education is not to show the taint of the domination of sect; if the equitable rights of Catholic Ireland are not to be ignored, and if, in the sphere of the conduct of man, the Irish Catholic is to be given bread instead of a stone—the conditions of university affairs in Ireland will be ultimately transformed in legitimate Catholic interests. For the rest, the Irish university question is pressing; the unfairness of the present arrangements cannot long continue; if justice is not done to Catholic Ireland in this matter, Trinity College and the Queen's

colleges will, in the long run, probably go the way of the late Irish Established Church. The commission, I trust, will at least lay down the lines of an equitable, comprehensive, and wise reform."

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

THE *National Review* is the only English monthly which appears in mourning for the death of the Empress Frederick.

Mr. Harcourt Kitchin writes with apparently a good background of solid information upon the "Craft of Fire Insurance." He mentions incidentally that one fire insurance company has so much reserve capital that it could pay its shareholders a dividend of 20 per cent. to the end of time without doing any more business. It would be interesting to know what the actual dividend of these lucky shareholders may be when they have the profits of the new business as well as the interest on the reserve fund.

AMERICAN COPPERHEADS AND ENGLISH BOER SYMPATHIZERS.

Mr. H. W. Wilson, in a paper entitled "The Copperheads of the American Civil War," warns the British pro-Boers that they will come to be regarded in the same way as the Americans regarded the Northern Democrats who opposed President Lincoln and resisted the subjugation of the Southern States. Incidentally, Mr. Wilson reminds us, not perhaps without design, that when President Lincoln found the Copperhead agitation waxing strong, he suspended the habeas corpus act on his own responsibility, and made arrests right and left until his prisoners numbered nearly fifty thousand. All of these persons were seized without any warrant, and kept in jail until the Government chose to let them out. If pro-Boers in England were arrested in a similar proportion to the population, it is believed that Mr. Chamberlain would have one hundred thousand of them under lock and key.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. Walter Raleigh's "Anatomy of the Pro-Boer" is only noticeable because he graciously deigns to admit that the poor creatures may have their uses, and should not be too harshly dealt with.

Mr. Gustavus Myers' paper on Boss Croker paints the dictator of New York in the blackest colors, but it adds nothing particularly fresh to our knowledge of the subject.

There is a brightly written description by Mr. Hugh Clifford of the outbreak of cholera in the Malay Peninsula.

THE MONTHLY REVIEW.

THE *Monthly Review* opens with an editorial on "A Breeze from the Mediterranean," the writer of which insists upon the importance of maintaining the fighting efficiency of the British Mediterranean fleet, and protests vehemently against the conduct of ministers in resenting the discussion of the subject in the House of Commons. To deny the right of the national representatives to discuss such a question "tampering with the balance of the constitution," and "rasps the instincts of a maritime nation."

Mr. W. H. Mallock replies to the articles by "the author of 'Drifting'" which have recently been published in the *Contemporary Review*. He remarks that the argument which has most weight in the articles is

that in which the author of "Drifting" insists on the injury to certain British industries by the reduced charge for freight which the railway companies accord to foreigners.

A writer signing himself Lieut. Carlyon Bellairs, writing on "The Navy at School," discusses the lessons of the autumn naval maneuvers of this year. He maintains that they may be regarded as a triumph for the theories of the historical school. But he argues that the British navy, unlike that of Germany, has been too entirely swayed by the members of the tactical school. He complains that the splendid body of officers and men are hampered by faddist, obsolete regulations, special training and education in the hands of university men, absurd traditions of smartness and precision of drill, etc., and tactics.

Mr. Charles Bill, writing on "Unsolved Foreign Problems," maintains that the wisest course for Great Britain to pursue at this critical period of her history is to support Lord Salisbury's policy of circumscribing the area of possible differences with other nations, and especially with France, whenever she has the chance, and meanwhile to lose no opportunity of strengthening her connection with Germany.

Another article on foreign policy is Mr. W. B. Duffield's statement of "Italy's Case Against Her Allies," Austrian and German. He thinks that her wisest course would be to adopt a policy of peace, retrenchment, and reform, to cultivate an understanding with France, and concentrate all her resources on the economic struggle. If she is unable to do this, she should at least do her best to secure herself from being sacrificed to the exigencies of the Agrarian parties in Germany and Austria. He complains that England's policy toward Italy has been of late years perhaps more consistently Machiavelian than in any other quarter.

Mr. H. Hamilton Fyfe, writing on "Nationality in Dramatic Art," pleads for an experimental playhouse, if need be supported by voluntary contributions, as a step toward the creation of some kind of national theater.

Mr. G. L. Calderon writes a dozen pages about Korolenko, whom he regards as the most notable of all the Russian novelists of the present generation.

Mr. Henry Newbolt contributes a poem entitled "Commemoration."

BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE.

THE September *Blackwood's* is varied and interesting. It opens with an article on personal recollections of "Pianists of the Past" by the late Charles Salaman. Hamish Stuart writes on "Cricket Records," and Stephen Gwynn describes his experiences with a pilchard fleet off Cornwall. An anonymous writer discourses sympathetically concerning the achievements of Skinner of Skinner's Horse, the founder of the irregular cavalry of Bengal, who was born in 1778 and died in 1841.

There is an article on the state of Ireland, which opens with a eulogy of Cromwell's policy in Ireland, and tells the Irish landlords that they have only themselves to blame for the position in which they are placed. It is through the ignorance and idleness of such men that their order is brought into danger.

The writer of "Musings Without Method" speaks sarcastically concerning Mr. Hall Caine and his book, "The Eternal City." His point of view may be seen from the concluding paragraph:

"In conclusion, we owe Mr. Caine our sincere thanks for beguiling our leisure with a romance of Italy. His characters are not wholly strange; you might meet the most of them in Bloomsbury or Bedford Park. But he has chosen such names for them as arouse the dullest curiosity. The Egyptian donkey-drivers call their beasts Mr. Gladstone, Mrs. Langtry, and what not, and Mr. Caine has followed a pleasant example. His donkeys (if he will pardon the term) are all princes, kings, and popes, and it is only on reading his book that we discover the pleasantries."

THE ITALIAN REVIEWS.

IN a long illustrated article on Cecil Rhodes, the *Nuova Antologia* (August 16) gives not only a personal sketch of the "Napoleon of the Cape," but also a very impartial account of the events leading up to the Transvaal war. The report that Rudyard Kipling suggested to Cecil Rhodes that on the monument to be erected in commemoration of the siege of Kimberley, he (Rhodes) should be represented by a sphinx, and that Mr. Rhodes immediately resolved to act on the suggestion, appeals to the writer of the article—Gorgo Silente—as singularly typical of his subject. He sees in him many Napoleonic qualities—his decision of character, his aloofness from other men, and his extraordinary personal fascination over those with whom he comes in immediate contact. The writer declares that the war was not directly of his making, though it was the outcome of his imperialist policy. Of his immense fortune he writes: "He does not care to spare himself either work or fatigue or perils, but rather to satisfy his ambition. This is the motive power which urges him on from one scheme to another, this is the dominating passion which justifies the title conferred on him of Napoleon of the South."

The same number contains an excellent illustrated article on the Glasgow Exhibition, full of cordial admiration for the way in which the scheme has been carried out, and regretting only that Italy has had no share in its success.

MISSIONS IN CHINA.

The *Antologia* for August 1 prints an interesting study of missionary methods in heathen lands by Professor Labanca, of Rome, in which he sums up the actual position in China as follows:

"The undeniable historical fact is that neither Catholic nor Protestant missionaries have been free from faults. They have been guilty either of too much zeal, or of too much disregard for the beliefs and customs of the Chinese, or of arrogance and presumption toward the people who gave them hospitality. Let us be clear on this subject. Are these really the causes of the Chinese war against Europeans? It does not appear so to those who study the facts impartially and without pre-conceived prejudices. The main fault lies—to return to the legend of paradise—not with Adam or Eve, but with the Serpent; and the Serpent in this case was the foreign protection accorded from interested motives. The faults of the missionaries cannot be excused, much less justified; but the cause of so much evil lies in this, that through the protection of interested powers the missionaries became, unhappily, the vanguard of merchants and ambassadors and foreign soldiers."

The professor goes on to point out that the most typical and the most disastrous example of this policy was

to be seen in the conduct of the German Bishop Anzer in the province of Kiau-Chau.

The *Civiltà Cattolica* (August 3) publishes an article on the scope and aims of Christian democracy,—an article clearly designed to place itself in line with the policy laid down in the recent Papal encyclical *Graves de Communi*.

GERMAN MAGAZINES.

RICHARD KOCHLICH writes in *Nord und Süd* upon automobiles, pointing out that Germany was the birthplace of all the most essential inventions which made the automobile possible. The benz-motor, he says, like so many epoch-making inventions, is a child of German genius and industry. It originated from the Otto gas-engine, another German product. Daimler, who invented the benz-motor, has been able to perfect it and carry out many other ideas, unlike Von Drais, the inventor of the bicycle, which was perfected in England and France.

Mr. Kochlich comments upon the absurd restrictions once in force against motor carriages, and says that while accidents occurring with electric trams and tradesmen's carts are looked upon as inevitable, those caused by automobiles are most severely dealt with. He points out the obvious advantages of motor-driven wagons, etc., in space occupied and in cleanliness. The initial cost is greater, but when idle a motor eats nothing. Tremendous speeds are, of course, unnecessary, and dangerous for ordinary traffic.

HERMAN GRIMM ON RAPHAEL.

Raphael as a world-power forms the subject of a sketch in the *Deutsche Rundschau* by the late Herman Grimm. The writer narrates how he has often before attempted to write a life of Raphael, and has always failed. He was more successful with Michael Angelo. He draws comparisons between the two great Italians. Michael Angelo lived to a great age, and lived his life before all men; whereas Raphael died before he was forty, and lived a life of seclusion. Nothing seems to be known of his upbringing, and he showed as much genius and technical skill in his first painting, when he was twenty-one, as in any of his later pictures. Michael Angelo belongs to the same school as Donatello, Verriini, and Rubens, but Raphael stands alone; he had no one either to precede him or to follow. The paintings of Michael Angelo contain no happiness either of figure or of scene. How, asks Herr Grimm, is it possible to explain such a genius as Raphael? The young master could have had no experience; no earlier pictures had anything like the spiritual beauty of his own.

REVIVAL OF THE CLIPPER SHIP.

The August issue of *Ueber Land und Meer* contains a great number of fine pictures. The best-illustrated article is that by August Sperl on the town of Old Ulm; all the pictures are printed in color, and are very well done indeed. Another colored plate represents two tea clippers racing home. The short description accompanying it points out that these clippers are once more holding their own with the steamers which threatened entirely to supersede them. The modern sailing clipper is built up to 5,000 tons, and with a favorable breeze easily passes the 12-knot steamer. The largest clipper afloat only requires 25 to 30 men to manage her, and it costs nothing to drive her, while the whole of her hull is available for cargo.

INDEX TO PERIODICALS.

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- Abyssinia, Unknown, Through, P. H. G. Powell-Cotton WWM.
- Academies, International Association of, at Paris, H. Diels, Deut.
- Acetylene Gas, D. P. Heap, Cos.
- Adams, Herbert B., R. T. Ely, AMRR.
- Age, Old, M. G. Watkins, Gent.
- Aguinaldo, Emilio, Capture of, F. Funston, Ev.
- Aguinaldo's Capture, B. Mitchell, FrL.
- Airship: Is It Coming? S. Newcomb, McCl.
- Alaskan Eldorado, Winter and Spring in the, A. G. Kingsbury, NatM, August.
- Alcott, Louisa May: Letters to Her "Laurie," LHJ.
- Alfred, King, To the Memory of, H. C. Shelley, Pear.
- Alfred the Great—Hero and Saint, J. Mudge, MRN.
- Allen, Ethan, "The Robin Hood of Vermont," J. W. Buckham, NEng.
- "America": Is It a Native or Imported Name? Van B. Denslow, Gunt.
- American Idea, Triumph of the, A. H. Ford, NEng.
- American People, the Vanguard of a New Race, C. H. Robinson, NatM.
- American, The Average, H. Gannett, Ev.
- Anarchy, Trend towards: Its Cause and Cure, E. C. Gordon, PQ, July.
- Andersen, Hans Christian, Scrap-Book of, Str.
- Anglo-Saxon Supremacy, Historical Basis of, F. A. Ogg, Mod.
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- Antarctic Expedition, British, NatGM.
- Anthropology and the Evolution of Religion, W. W. Peyton, Contem.
- Antoinette, Marie, August 10, 1792, Mme. de C. Gallevande, RPar, August 15.
- Ants, H. Sutherland, Ains.
- Arbitration, International, Responsibility of the Executive Powers and, J. Dumas, RPP, August.
- Arboretum, Arnold, Work of the, S. Baxter, WW.
- Archaeology and the Bible, J. H. Stevenson, MRN.
- Architecture:
- Dictionary of Architecture, Sturgis's, M. Schuyler, BB.
 - English House, An Old, for \$7,000, E. Grey, LHJ.
 - Profession of Architecture, J. P. Coughlan, Mun.
 - Tragedy of Architecture, G. W. Cayler, West.
- Argentina, Italians and the French in, E. Dalveaux, RPar, August 15.
- Army: Field Service and the National Guard Officer, A. Milinowski, JMSI.
- Army Ration and Canteen, L. L. Seaman, JMSI.
- Army: Supply and Distribution, T. M. Anderson, and C. A. Devol, JMSI.
- Army, United States—I, F. V. Greene, Scrib.
- Art:
- Animal Painting, School for, Lenore Van der Veer, Str.
 - Art and Artists, J. La Farge, IntM.
 - Blenner, Carle J., Jane Marlin, NatM.
 - Book Bindings, Designing for, AA.
 - Canadian Art, Katherine V. McHenry, BP.
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 - Decoration, Scenes of the Chase Applied to, L. B. Thompson, AJ.
 - Decorative and Industrial Art at the Glasgow Exhibition —III, L. F. Day, AJ.
 - Decorative Art Exhibit at Turin, E. Bonardi, NA, August 1.
 - English Painting and French, K. Cox, IntM.
 - Freer, Frederick W., F. W. Morton, BP.
 - French, Daniel, Sculptor, H. Savigny, RRP, September 1.
 - Fruit-Painting in Oil Colors, AA.
 - Hodson, Samuel J., L. Lusk, AJ.
 - Hofmann, Heinrich, Kathleen Schlesinger, Str.
 - Keramic Art, Form and Ornament in—II, Mrs. Monachesi, AL.
 - La Farge, John, and Religious Art in America, Eugenie Uhrlrich, Ros.
 - Modelling in Clay, AA.
 - Models, Lenore Van der Veer, Pear.
 - Moonlight Scenes, Painting, AA.
 - Mucha, Alphonse Marie, A. G. Byrns, AL.
 - Nature and Ornament, AA.
 - Painting on Silk or Satin, Ida Y. Clift, AL.
 - Painting Out-of-Doors, AA.
 - Picknell, William L., E. W. Emerson, Cent.
 - Pottery of the Cliff-Dwellers, Mary A. Vreeland, AL.
 - Pyrogravures of W. Benda, Frances A. Groff, AL.
 - Rugs, Oriental, Poetry and Pathos of, W. G. Marquis, BP.
 - Sculpture and Decorative Art in the Salons of 1901, H. Frantz, MA.
 - Shelley, Percy Bysshe, Portraits of, R. Garnett, MA.
 - Spanish Painting at the Guildhall, A. G. Temple, MA.
 - Stuck, Franz, W. W. Whitelock, AL.
 - Wallace Collection, French Pictures in the, C. Phillips, AJ.
 - Whistler Collection at the Lenox Library, Elisabeth L. Cary, AL.
 - Wood-Carving of Mr. J. Phillips, MA.
 - Artillery, Museum of, at Paris, JMSI.
 - Assay Office in New York City, W. B. Northrup, JunM.
 - Astronomy: Glories of Southern Skies, A. D. Austin, LeisH.
 - Atom, Anatomy of the, T. Morton, Pear.
 - Australia: The Prince Among the Maoris, RRM, July.
 - Automobile-Making in America, J. A. Kingman, AMRR.
 - Baldness, New Cure for, L. Caze, RRP, September 1.
 - Ballooning as a Science and a Sport, E. S. Holden, Mun.
 - Banking Among the Poor, F. B. Kirkbride, Annals.
 - Barrett, Lawrence, Recollections of, Clara Morris, McCl.
 - Basketry, Indian, in House Decoration, C. W. James, Chaut.
 - Bears, Beguiling of the, F. Ireland, Scrib.
 - Beauty, W. J. Stillman, Atlant.
 - Benbow, Admiral John, W. J. Fletcher, Mac.
 - Biological Station, Greatest, in the World, W. A. Herdman, PopS.
 - Birds, Humming, of Ontario, C. W. Nash, Can.
 - Birds, Wild, Home Life of, Phot.
 - Blackmore, R. D., Country of, A. B. Maurice, Bkman.
 - Blind, Pavilion for the, Library of Congress, Emily L. Sherwood, Home.
 - Boiler, Marine Water-Tube, J. Platt, Eng.
 - Book-Collecting as an Investment, W. Roberts, Fort.
 - Boomers of the West, J. R. Spears, Mun.
 - Boston's New Subway, W. Winslow, MunA, June.
 - Boy Soldiers of America, D. A. Willey, NatM, August.
 - Boys' Brigade, F. S. Livingstone, Home.
 - Boys: Saving Them from Crime, L. H. French, WW.
 - Bridge, American, in Burma, Building an, J. C. Turk, WW.
 - Bridges, Artistic and Inartistic, H. T. Woodbridge, BP.
 - Brothers of the Christian Schools, Cath.
 - Buffalo, New York: The City at Night, R. L. Hartt, Atlant.
 - Burke, Edmund, and the French Revolution, W. Wilson, Cent.
 - Business Instinct, The, Cham.
 - Cairo and Its Panorama, M. H. Braid, Can.
 - California Guard, Maneuvers of the, J. F. Archibald, Over, August.
 - Canada, Royal Visits to, J. G. Bourinot, Forum.
 - Canadian Boatman, Pearlita C. Stadmen, Over, August.
 - Cannibal Tribe, Our Last, J. Mooney, Harp.
 - Cape Breton, Past and Present, W. L. Grant, Can.
 - Caricatures, British, A. Filon, RDM, August 15.
 - Cartwright, Hon. Richard, A. Shortt, Can.
 - Castaways and Their Influence on Population, W. Allingham, Gent.
 - Cat-Raising as a Business, Mabel Cornish-Bond, Mun.
 - Cathode Rays, J. J. Thomson, Harp.
 - Cattle-Breeding for Amateurs—II, F. S. Peer, O.
 - Cattle-Ranching in the Southwest, Economics of, R. M. Barker, AMRR.
 - Cavalry Scouting, O. H. Porter, USM.
 - Cavendish, Henry, C. K. Edmunds, PopS.
 - Celtic,—the Biggest Ship, C. Roberts, WW.
 - Census of 1900, Story of the, W. Wellman, McCl.
 - Chairs and Sofas, Construction of, AA.
 - Chess as a War-Game, E. E. Cunningham, USM.
 - Chess-Players, A Village of,—Ströbeck, Germany, Annie B. Maguire, WWM.
 - Chicago Street Railways, M. R. Maltbie, and E. F. Bard, MunA, June.
 - Chicago, the Most National City, R. Linthicum, Ains.
 - Children, Dependent, Importation of, C. Kelsey, Annals.
 - China:
 - Characteristics of the Chinese, R. Morrison, OC.
 - Chinese Society, Basis of, F. W. Williams, IntM.
 - Mission Schools in China, Mary H. Krout, Chaut.
 - Opium War, Emperor Tao-Kwang and the, MM. Callery and Yvan, OC.
 - Peking, Diplomatic Life in, Elizabeth von Hayking, IntM.
 - Poetry, Chinese, Evolution of, L. Charpentier, RRP, September 1.
 - Chinese Exclusion, a Benefit or a Harm? Ho Yow, NAR.

- Christian Experience, Apologetic Worth of, W. B. Greene, Jr., MRNY.
- Christian Science, Phantom Fortress of, J. M. Buckley, NAR.
- Christianity, Recovery of Jesus from, G. D. Herron, Arena.
- Christ's Second Coming, C.S.M. See, PQ, July.
- Church and the State, G. Sorel, RSoc, August.
- Church of the Future, Adelle W. Wright, Mind.
- Cities in the United States, Growth of, A. F. Weber, MunA, June.
- City, American, Rise of the, W. Wellman, McCl.
- Civilization: What Is It? C. M. Beaumont, West.
- Clapp, Henry Austin, Reminiscence of—II., Atlant.
- Clark's "The Distribution of Wealth," C. A. Tuttle, Yale, August.
- Climatological Association, American, Annual Meeting of the San.
- Coffee House Plan, A. L. Sweetser, Gunt.
- College Clubs in New York, E. T. Noble, JunM.
- College, Girl Freshmen at, Alice K. Fallows, Mun.
- College Trust, T. E. Will, Arena.
- Colleges, Methodist, Self-Help and Cost at, J. M. Lee, MRNY.
- Colonies, World's, Development of the, O. P. Austin, SocS.
- Comic Paper in America, W. H. Shelton, Crit.
- Comstock Mine of To-day, T. A. Rickard, CasM.
- Concentration, Sarah C. Le Moyne and Carolyn Shipman, Crit.
- Coney Island, Marvelous, G. W. Carryl, Mun.
- Confucius, Wisdom of, JunM.
- Congo, What Has Taken Place on the, S. Bassett, RRP, August 15 and September 1.
- Constitution of the United States, L. Luzzatti, NA, August 1.
- Cooperative Movement in France, J. Bardoux, RPP, August.
- Copperheads of the Civil War, H. W. Wilson, NatR.
- Corporations and Government, G. Gunton, Gunt.
- Cotton-Find, In the, M. B. Thrasher, Out.
- County Government, Responsibility in, S. E. Sparling, PSQ.
- Coursing in Kansas and Nebraska, C. H. Morton, O.
- Cricket Records, H. Stuart, Black.
- Cricket Teams, English, in Australia, H. Gordon, Bad.
- Criminal Trials, Early—I., GBag.
- "Crisis, The," Some Real Persons and Places in, J. M. Dixon, Bkman.
- Crispi, Francesco, P. D'Albaro, Contem.
- Croker, "Boss," G. Myers, NatR.
- Croquet, Psychology of, G. H. Powell, Temp.
- Cubans: Can They Govern Cuba? E. Wood, Forum.
- Culture, Middle-Class, Fifty Years Ago, J. G. Alger, West.
- Cushing, William, F. R. Jones, GBag.
- Cycle-Way, California's Great, T. D. Denham, Pear.
- Dawson as It Is, H. J. Woodside, Can.
- Denmark, Diary of Holiday in, Ella E. Overton, Leish.
- Derry and Limerick, Sieges of, H. Mangan, NineC.
- Dickens, Dramatizations of, P. Wilstach, Bkman.
- Discount Policy, Modern—I., N. E. Weill, Bad.
- "Distribution of Wealth," by John Bates Clark, T. N. Carter, QEcon, August.
- Doukhobors in Canada, Among the, Nellie E. Baker, MisR, August.
- Dogs, Humor of: Interview with Cecil Aldin, YW.
- Drama, Popular, in Brittany, IntM.
- Dress, Men's, Reform in, C. M. Connolly, Mun.
- Dress, Women's, Reform in, Princess Ysenburg, NAR.
- Dreyfus, Captain Alfred: Five Years of My Life, WWM.
- Drift of Floating Bottles, J. Page, NatGM.
- Duel, The, in France, I. Gelli, NA, August 1.
- Duke of Cornwall, F. Cunliffe-Owen, JunM.
- Economic Geography, Principles of, L. M. Keasbey, PSQ.
- Economic Harmony, Elements in, G. Gunton, Gunt.
- Edinburgh, Scotland, W. Strange, PhotT.
- Education: see also Kindergarten.
- Denmark, "Peasant Universities" of, J. C. Bay, Ed.
- Education in the United States, G. P. Gooch, West.
- Educational Progress of the Year, E. E. Brown, EdR.
- Gardens for School-Children, G. H. Knight, Pear.
- Hooke, Charles, Schoolmaster, F. Watson, School.
- Imagination in the Study of the Classics, G. Lodge, EdR.
- Industrial Schools in Paris, A. Fleurquin, RefS.
- Joliet Township High School, J. S. Brown, School.
- Literary Drill in College—II., G. S. Lee, Crit.
- Literature in the School Programme, J. W. Abernethy, Ed.
- Lycées of France, E. L. Hardy, School.
- Manual Training, C. F. Carroll, Ed.
- National University, Report of the Committee on a, EdR.
- Paris Exposition, Educational Lessons of the, Anna T. Smith, EdR.
- Parochial School Question, P. R. McDevitt, Cath.
- School, Ideal, as Based on Child Study, G. S. Hall, Forum.
- School Supervision, Evolution of, J. T. Prince, EdR.
- Science Course for Secondary Schools, H. C. Cooper, School,
- Secondary Education, Tendencies in, E. E. Brown, School.
- Suggestion vs. Prescription in Courses of Study, R. G. Boone, Ed.
- Supplementary Reading for Children, May Lowe, Ed.
- University, American, Evolution of the, F. W. Clarke, Forum,
- University Extension, Ten Years of, L. P. Powell, Atlant.
- Technical Schools, Need of, Carina C. Eaglesfield, Cath.
- Work and Play in the Primary and Grammar Grades, Charlotte H. Powe, KindR.
- Egypt, Rejuvenated, D. Story, Mun.
- Electric Lighting at the Glasgow Exhibition, W. D. Wansbrough, CasM.
- Electrical Installations, Private, A. T. Stewart, Cham.
- Electrical Progress During the Last Decade, M. J. Pupin, Cos.
- Electricity and Phosphorescence in the Animal World, P. Carus, OC.
- Eliot, George, Reminiscences of, F. Harrison, Harp.
- Engineering at the Glasgow Exhibition, J. G. Kerr, Eng.
- Engineering Organization of the Paris Exposition, G. Caye, Eng.
- England: see Great Britain.
- England, Medieval, Village Life in, E. P. Cheyney, Lipp.
- Engraving, Steel, in America, F. Weitenkampf, BB.
- Erie, Pennsylvania's Lake City, J. Miller, NatM.
- Essay as Mood and Form, R. Burton, Forum.
- Ethics and Religion, A. E. Davies, AngA.
- Ethics, The Clergy and the Teaching of, M. G. Hering, West.
- Evolution, Statistical Study of, C. B. Davenport, PopS.
- Expansion After the Civil War, 1865-71, T. C. Smith, PSQ.
- Eyes, Artificial, History of, Cham.
- Factory Expense, Distribution of, A. A. Church, Eng.
- Factory Town, Model—Pelzer, S. C., Leonora B. Ellis, Forum.
- Fair and the Dark, Abilities of the, H. Ellis, MonR.
- Fairy Forests and Their Inhabitants, J. Scott, YM.
- Faith as an Effort of the Soul, A. T. Burbridge, Bib.
- Farrar, Dean, A. R. Buckland, YM.
- Farrow, Rosannah Waters, Mrs. F. B. Gordon, AMonM.
- Feminism, Count de Las Casas, RefS.
- Ferments, Soluble, or Enzymes, E. O. Jordan, PopS.
- Fez, the Capital of Morocco, G. Montbard, AJ.
- Finland's Plight, E. Limedorfer, Forum.
- Flint, Charles R., the "Father of Trusts," W. D. Walker, CasM.
- Florida: A Bit of Spain Under Our Flag, Leonora B. Ellis, Chant.
- Flowers, English, in an Egyptian Garden, E. L. Butcher, Long.
- "Flying Dutchman, The," Spiritual Significance of, B. O. Flower, Mind.
- Fox-Hunting in the Scottish Highlands, A. I. McConnochie, Temp.
- France:
- Agrarian France, C. Karr, RSoc, August.
 - Army, Reform of Penitentiary Services in the, E. Larcher, RPP, August.
 - Channel Coast Line, E. Leuthéric, RDM, August 15.
 - Cooperative Movement in France, J. Bardoux, RPP, August.
 - Dreyfus Affair and France, E. Tallichet, BU.
 - Financial Operation Under Louis XIV., S. Charléty, RPar, September 1.
 - Financier of the Third Republic, M. A. Leblond, RRP, August 15.
 - Literary Manifestations, Recent, C. Mauclair, RRP, September 1.
 - Romanism and Protestantism in France, R. Saillens, MisR, August.
 - Franchise Legislation in Pennsylvania and Philadelphia, C. R. Woodruff, MunA, June.
 - Franchise Taxation in Illinois, H. B. Loomis, MunA, June.
 - Frederick, Empress, R. Temple, Deut; C. Benham, Fort; R. Blennerhassett, NatR; NAR.
 - Frost, Fighting, A. McAdie, Cent.
 - Fruits and Flowers, New Maker of, L. H. Bailey, WW.
 - Galdós, Pérez, Novels of, W. Miller, Gent.
 - Garibaldi and Italian Literature, E. Rod, BU.
 - Gas Engines for Pleasure Craft, H. R. Sudphen, O.
 - Genesis, Legends of, H. Gunkel, OC.
 - Genius, British, Study of: Summary and Conclusions, H. Ellis, PopS.
 - Genius, Psychic Action of, F. Grierson, West.
 - Geographers, German, and German Geography, Martha K. Genthe, NatGM.
- Germany:
- Army, New Tendencies in the, RDM, September 1.
 - Industrial Progress of Germany, E. E. Williams, NatR.
 - Navy, New German, H. W. Wilson, Harp.
 - Tariff Proposals, Effect of the, J. Schoenhof, Forum.
 - Gilbert, W. S., Conversation with, W. Archer, Crit.
 - Glasgow Exhibition, G. Chiesi, NA, August 16.
 - Goat, Angora, in America, Mary H. O'Connor, JunM.
 - Golf Championships, English, Impressions of the, J. G. McPherson, Bad.
 - Golf? Should Women Play, Leily Bingen, Cass.
 - Golf, Social Value of, E. F. Benson, Ev.
 - Grand Prix de Paris, The, G. W. Carryl, O.
 - Gravitation, Law of, Discovery of the, J. T. Duffield, PopS.
- Great Britain: see also Transvaal.
- Bear War, Consequences of the, F. A. White, West.
 - Brodrick, Mr., Lost Opportunities of, F. N. Maude, MonR.
 - Commercial Position of the Empire, B. Taylor, Forum.

- Debt, Public, of Great Britain, H. Cox, NAR.
 Factory Acts Consolidation Bill, J. Shirley, West.
 Food Supply in Time of War, S. L. Murray, JMSI.
 Gladstone's Foreign Policy, Principles of, M. D. O'Brien, West.
 House of Lords, Earl Nelson, MonR.
 Imperialism, and the Coming Crisis for Democracy, J. E. Elam, West.
 Irish Nuisance and How to Abate It, E. Dicey, NineC.
 Irish University Commission, O'C. Morris, Fort.
 Judicature, English, Century of—VII, Van V. Veeder, GBag.
 Liberal Party, Present Position of the, MonR.
 Liberalism, Decline in, W. Clarke, PSQ.
 Mint, Report of the, for 1900, BankL.
 Naval Reform: "The Man Behind the Gun," USM.
 Nonconformists, Early, Education of the, F. Watson, Gent.
 Party-System, The, B. N. Langdon-Davies, Mac.
 Pensions, Old-Age, A. M. Brice, Temp.
 Political Situation in England, G. Smith, NAR.
 Pro-Boer, Anatomy of the, W. Raleigh, NatR.
 Railways, British, Position of, BankL.
 Rosebery, Lord, Open Letter to, Fort.
 Seamanship, Death and Burial of, H. N. Shore, USM.
 South Africa, Britain's Title-Deeds in, Mac.
 University Reform in the Victorian Era, J. A. R. Marriott, Fort.
 Grillparzer, A Poet-Musician, C. Bellaigue, RDM, September 1.
 Guizot, Francois, Georgiana Hill, Gent.
 Gun, Evolution of Sport with the, W. Gerrare, O.
 Harper, William Rainey, C. H. Wetmore, Home.
 Hauptmann, Gerhart, Beatrice Marshall, Fort.
 Hawaiian Islands, Impressions of the, H. C. Potter, Cent.
 Health Officers, Vermont School for, San.
 Heraldry—Its Laws and Its Humors, Jane MacNeal, Mun.
 Herne, James A., Appreciation of, H. Garland, J. J. Enneking, B. O. Flower, Arena.
 History-General: A New Division Needed, M. V. B. Knox, MRNY.
 Holyoake, George Jacob, W. T. Stead, RRL.
 Hospital, Boston Floating, Laura E. Poulinson, KindR.
 Hotels, Modern, G. B. Mallon, Ains.
 Housekeepers, Born, Mrs. Scott-Moncrieff, Cham.
 Hugo, Victor, Romancier, P. Bourget, Crit.
 Huxley, Thomas H., Some Characteristics of, I. W. Howorth, OC.
 Hymns That Haven't Helped, C. Graves, JunM.
 Ibsen's Pessimism, H. Lichtenberger, RPar, August 15.
 Ice-Sailing, M. Woodward, Pear.
 Immortality? Do Men Desire, F. C. S. Schiller, Fort.
 Income as a Tyrant, Eva Anstruther, Corn.
 India:
 Civil Service, W. Lee-Warner, Corn.
 Currency Problems, A. P. Andrew, QJEcon, August.
 Decay of British Rule, M. Carey, USM.
 English Neglect of Indian Poetry, K. Blind, Forum.
 Famines, Future, USM.
 Message of India, C. Johnston, Contem.
 Superstitions in India, G. A. Legett-Yeats, Mac.
 Industrial Betterment at Port Sunlight, S. Gamble-Walker, SocS.
 Industrial Consolidation, C. R. Flint, CasM.
 Infantry Tactics, Evolution of—II, F. N. Maude, USM.
 Ingram, Rt. Rev. Arthur F. W., W. Durban, Out.
 Insects on the Farm, Martha McCullough-Williams, McCl.
 Insular Cases, Decisions in the, J. W. Burgess, PSQ.
 Insular Cases, Supreme Court and the, L. S. Rowe, Annals.
 Insular Questions, Some, N. T. Bacon, Yale, August.
 Insurance, Fire, Craft of, F. H. Kitchin, NatR.
 Inventions, Great, Since the World's Fair, J. B. Walker, Cos.
 Iona, the Isle of Columba's Cell, Agnes C. Storer, Cath.
 Ireland, Condition of, Black.
 Ireland, Travels in, H. Potez, RPar, September 1.
 Italy and the Dreibund, Deut.
 Italy, Famine and Its Causes in, E. C. Strutt, MonR.
 Jack the Giant Killer, Japanese, L. Larkin, Str.
 Japan, Elementary Schools in, W. Burnet, Gent.
 Japanese Novel, Modern, J. Tébla, RFP, August 15.
 Japanese Plants in American Gardens, Frances Duncan, Atlant.
 Japanese, Thinking in, C. L. Brownell, BB.
 Jefferies, Richard, at Home, D. Stafford, Bad.
 Jesuit Plea for Jesuits, J. Gerard, MonR.
 Johnson, Tom L., Campaign of Social Revolution by, H. George, Jr., NatM, August.
 Jókai, Maurus, R. N. Bain, MonR.
 Journalism: The Comic Paper in America, W. H. Shelton, Crit.
 Jugglers, Japanese, W. B. Robertson, Cass.
 Kansas After the Drought, F. W. Blackmar, AMRR.
 Kilbourne, Col. James, Sketch of, SocS.
 Kindergarten Education and Child Study at the National Educational Association, Kind.
 Kindergarten, Rhythm in the, Ethel R. Lindgren, KindR.
 Kindergarten, Work and Play in the, Alice H. Putnam, KindR.
 Koch, Robert, and His Work, H. M. Biggs, AMRR.
 Kuyper, Dr. A., the New Prime Minister of Holland, RRL.
 Labor Legislation in France Under the Third Republic—II, W. F. Willoughby, QJEcon, August.
 Labor Organizations, C. A. Murdock, Over, August.
 Laughter of Savages, J. Sully, IntM.
 Law and Liberty, F. Exline, Arena.
 Lawn-Tennis in Continental Europe, C. Hobart, O.
 Le Conte, Joseph, J. Royce, IntM.
 Legal Profession, Some Delights of the, W. B. Dowd, GBag.
 Life-Saving on the English Coasts, J. B. Harrold, Cham.
 Lincoln, Abraham: His Power of Expression, R. W. Gilder, MRNY.
 Lincoln, Abraham, Side-Lights on, J. M. Scovel, Over.
 Linton, Mrs. Lynn, a Census of Modern Womanhood, G. Paston, Fort.
 Lipton, Sir Thomas, at Home, D. Stewart, O.
 Literature: Professor Saintsbury's History of Criticism, L. E. Gates, Crit.
 Living a Hundred Years, Art of, F. L. Hoffman, San.
 London, Eighteenth-Century, Through French Eye-Glasses, G. Paston, Long.
 Longevity, Philosophy of, R. P. di Calboli, NA, August 16.
 Louisbourg, Colonial Fighters at, C. T. Brady, McCl.
 Lowell, James Russell, a Decade After, E. W. Bowen, MRN.
 Lumberers of Minnesota, R. K. Chapman, LeisH.
 Lupus, a Tubercular Affection of the Skin, W. A. Hackett, San.
 Lytton, Lord, Novels of, W. F. Lord, NineC.
 Machine-Shop Practice, American, P. Lüders, Eng.
 Machine Tools at the Glasgow Exhibition, J. Horner, CasM.
 McMillin, Emerson, A. Goodrich, WW.
 MacRae, Jane, Story of, J. P. MacLean, AMonM.
 Magazine Literature, Best Plan to Save, M. B. Corse, WW.
 Maine Guide and the Maine Camp, H. L. Jillson, O.
 Man and His Education, I. Isola, RasN, August 1.
 Mankind, Organization of, E. W. Cook, Contem.
 Marshall, John, J. B. Moore, PSQ.
 Mascalouge in the Flambeau Waters, H. S. Canfield, O.
 Maximite, the New Explosive, H. Maxim, NEng.
 Measurement, Standards of, J. A. Brashears, CasM.
 Measuring Machine in the Workshop, J. E. Sweet, CasM.
 Memory and Impressions, A. M. Thurber, Mind.
 Meredith and Hardy, Historic Place of, E. Gosse, IntM.
 Merejkowski, Dmitri, H. Trench, Crit.
 Meteorology, C. Kaszner, Deut.
 Methodism, Class Meeting in, J. H. Vincent, MRNY.
 Metz—Thirty Years After, W. M. J. Williams, Cass.
 Milan, Castello of, Julia Cartwright, MonR.
 Missions:
 China, Mission Schools in, Mary H. Krout, Chaut.
 Germany, Protestant Church of, and Its Foreign Mission Work, G. H. Schodde, MisR, August.
 International Missionary Union, Eighteenth Session of the, J. T. Gracey, MisR.
 Jewish Missions, L. Meyer, MisR, August.
 Liberty, Christian vs. Heathen, E. N. Harris, MisR, August.
 Methodist Missionary Polity, J. M. Thoburn, MRNY.
 Pioneering Among the Cannibals—II, S. McFarlane, MisR, August.
 Problems on the Foreign Field, A. T. Pierson, MisR, August.
 Protection of Missionaries, B. Labanca, NA, August 1.
 Rescue Mission Work, Principles of, Margaret B. Robinson, MisR, August.
 Mivart's Doubts Against the Faith, J. F. X. Westcott, Cath.
 Modeller, A Lightning, F. Holmfield, Str.
 Monitor, The Day of the, J. R. Spears, JunM.
 Monopolies and the Law, J. B. Clark, PSQ.
 Montana: The Crown of the Continent, G. B. Grinnell, Cent.
 Montenegro Jubilee, W. Miller, Mac.
 Moore, Tom, American Trip of, J. G. Daley, Cath.
 Morality: Is It Possible Without Religion? C. M. Bishop, MRN.
 Mother, The, in the Church, Lucy R. Meyer, MRNY.
 Mountain Climbing, Practical, Annie S. Peck, O.
 Mountains, British, H. Spender, Cass.
 Municipal Electric Plants in Massachusetts Cities, A. D. Adams, Yale, August.
 Musical Reminiscences, H. B. Fabiani, Mod.
 Mutiny, Great, Tale of the—IX, W. H. Fitchett, Corn.
 Naturalism and Idealism, C. S. Myers, Phil.
 Nature Studies in September, N. H. Moore, Chaut.
 Negro, Criminal—VII, Frances A. Kellor, Arena.
 Newspapers, Alien, of New York City, H. Clemens, Bkman.
 New York, Mid-Air Dining Clubs in, C. Moffett, Cent.
 New York's Subway Policy, W. J. Gaynor, MunA, June.
 New York's Water Front, Anne O'Hagan, JunM.
 New York: The Poor in Summer, R. A. Stevenson, Scrib.
 Nile, Sailing on the, F. M. Edselas, Cath.
 North Pole, How I Hope to Reach the, E. B. Baldwin, McCl.
 Ocean, Rolling Across the, W. Fawcett, FrL.
 Ocean Grove Camp Meeting, E. Wood, Ains.

- Okapi,—the Newly Discovered Beast, H. H. Johnston, McCl. Oklahoma, Florence B. Crofford, Mod. Palestine, Modern Dress in, E. W. G. Masterman, Bib. Panama Hat, Rise of the, G. Sudley, JunM. Pan-American Exposition:
Art Exhibit, Grace W. Curran, Mod.
Art, Organization as Applied to, C. Y. Turner, Cos.
Athletics and the Stadium, J. E. Sullivan, Cos.
City of Light, D. Gray, Cent.
City of the Future—a Prophecy, J. B. Walker, Cos.
Dooley, Mr., on the Midway, F. P. Dunne, Cos.
Educational Influence of the Exposition, N. M. Butler, Cos.
Human Nature, Exhibit of, Lavinia Hart, Cos.
Incubator Baby and Niagara Falls, A. Brisbane, Cos.
Mechanical and Electrical Features, W. S. Aldrich, Eng.
Notes on the Exposition, R. Grant, Cos.
Novelties at the Buffalo Fair, J. Hawthorne, Cos.
Organization of an Exposition, W. I. Buchanan, Cos.
Pan-American Exposition, L. D. Norvins, RRP, August 15.
Philippine Educational Exhibit, C. B. Spahr, Out.
Studies from Life, T. Paul, NatM, August.
Value of the Exposition, A. Shaw, Cos.
Parodists, Some American, W. T. Larned, Bkman.
Papal Encyclical "Graves de Communi," A. Castelein, RGen.
Paper Mill, Largest, in the World, A. D. Adams, CasM.
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Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index.

[All the articles in the leading reviews are indexed, but only the more important articles in the other magazines.]

Ains.	Ainslee's Magazine, N. Y.	EdR.	Educational Review, N. Y.	NEng.	New England Magazine, Bos- ton.
ACQR.	American Catholic Quarterly Review, Phila.	Eng.	Engineering Magazine, N. Y.	NineC.	Nineteenth Century, London.
AHR.	American Historical Review, N. Y.	EM.	España Moderna, Madrid.	NAR.	North American Review, N. Y.
AJS.	American Journal of Soci- ology, Chicago.	EV.	Everybody's Magazine, N. Y.	Nou.	Nouvelle Revue, Paris.
AJT.	American Journal of The- ology, Chicago.	Fort.	Fortnightly Review, London.	NA.	Nuova Antologia, Rome.
ALR.	American Law Review, St. Louis.	Forum.	Forum, N. Y.	OC.	Open Court, Chicago.
AMonM.	American Monthly Magazine, Washington, D. C.	FrL.	Frank Leslie's Monthly, N. Y.	O.	Outing, N. Y.
AMRR.	American Monthly Review of Reviews, N. Y.	Gent.	Gentleman's Magazine, Lon- don.	Out.	Outlook, N. Y.
ANat.	American Naturalist, Boston. N. Y.	GBag.	Green Bag, Boston.	Over.	Overland Monthly, San Fran- cisco.
AngA.	Anglo-American Magazine, N. Y.	Gunt.	Gunton's Magazine, N. Y.	PMM.	Pall Mall Magazine, London.
Annals.	Annals of the American Acad- emy of Pol. and Soc. Science, Phila.	Harp.	Harper's Magazine, N. Y.	Pear.	Pearson's Magazine, N. Y.
APB.	Anthony's Photographic Bul- letin, N. Y.	Hart.	Hartford Seminary Record, Hartford, Conn.	Phil.	Philosophical Review, N. Y.
Arch.	Architectural Record, N. Y.	Home.	Home Magazine, N. Y.	Phot.	Photographic Times, N. Y.
Arena.	Arena, N. Y.	Hom.	Homiletic Review, N. Y.	PL.	Poet-Lore, Boston.
AA.	Art Amateur, N. Y.	HumN.	Humanité Nouvelle, Paris.	PSQ.	Political Science Quarterly, Boston.
AD.	Art and Decoration, N. Y.	Int.	International, Chicago.	PopA.	Popular Astronomy, North- field, Minn.
AI.	Art Interchange, N. Y.	IJE.	International Journal of Ethics, Phila.	PopS.	Popular Science Monthly, N. Y.
AJ.	Art Journal, London.	IntM.	International Monthly, Bur- lington, Vt.	PRR.	Prasbyterian and Reformed Review, Phila.
Art.	Artist, London.	IntS.	International Studio, N. Y.	PQ.	Presbyterian Quarterly, Char- lotte, N. C.
Atlant.	Atlantic Monthly, Boston.	JMSI.	Journal of the Military Ser- vice Institution, Governor's Island, N. Y. H.	QEcon.	Quarterly Journal of Econom- ics, Boston.
Bad.	Badminton, London.	JPEcon.	Journal of Political Economy, Chicago.	QR.	Quarterly Review, London.
BankL.	Bankers' Magazine, London.	JunM.	Junior Munsey, N. Y.	RasN.	Rassegna Nazionale, Florence.
BankNY	Bankers' Magazine, N. Y.	Kind.	Kindergarten Magazine, Chi- cago.	RefS.	Réforme Sociale, Paris.
Bib.	Biblical World, Chicago.	KindR.	Kindergarten Review, Spring- field, Mass.	RRL.	Review of Reviews, London.
BibS.	Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, O.	Krin.	Kringsja, Christiania.	RRM.	Review of Reviews, Mel- bourne.
BU.	Bibliothèque Universelle, Lau- sanne.	LHJ.	Ladies' Home Journal, Phila.	RDM.	Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris.
Black.	Blackwood's Magazine, Edin- burgh.	LeisH.	Leisure Hour, London.	RDP.	Revue du Droit Public, Paris.
BB.	Book Buyer, N. Y.	Lipp.	Lippincott's Magazine, Phila.	RGen.	Revue Générale, Brussels.
Bkman.	Bookman, N. Y.	LQ.	London Quarterly Review, London.	RPar.	Revue de Paris, Paris.
BP.	Brush and Pencil, Chicago.	Long.	Longman's Magazine, London.	PPP.	Revue Politique et Parlemen- taire, Paris.
Can.	Canadian Magazine, Toronto.	Luth.	Lutheran Quarterly, Gettys- burg, Pa.	RRP.	Revue des Revues, Paris.
Cass.	Cassell's Magazine, London.	McCl.	McClure's Magazine, N. Y.	RSoc.	Revue Socialiste, Paris.
CasM.	Cassier's Magazine, N. Y.	Mac.	Macmillan's Magazine, Lon- don.	RPL.	Rivista Politica e Letteraria, Rome.
Cath.	Catholic World, N. Y.	MA.	Magazine of Art, London.	Ros.	Rosary, Somerset, Ohio.
Cent.	Century Magazine, N. Y.	MRN.	Methodist Review, Nashville.	San.	Sanitarian, N. Y.
Cham.	Chambers's Journal, Edin- burgh.	MRNY.	Methodist Review, N. Y.	School.	School Review, Chicago.
Chaut.	Chautauquan, Cleveland, O.	Mind.	Mind, N. Y.	Scrib.	Scribner's Magazine, N. Y.
Cons.	Conservative Review, Wash- ington.	MisH.	Missionary Herald, Boston.	SR.	Sewanee Review, N. Y.
Contem.	Contemporary Review, Lon- don.	MisR.	Missionary Review, N. Y.	SocS.	Social Service, N. Y.
Corn.	Cornhill, London.	Mod.	Modern Culture, Cleveland, O.	Str.	Strand Magazine, London.
Cos.	Cosopolitan, N. Y.	MonR.	Monist, Chicago.	Temp.	Temple Bar, London.
Crit.	Critic, N. Y.	MunR.	Monthly Review, N. Y.	USM.	United Service Magazine, London.
Deut.	Deutsche Revue, Stuttgart.	MunA.	Municipal Affairs, N. Y.	West.	Westminster Review, London.
Dial.	Dial, Chicago.	Mun.	Munsey's Magazine, N. Y.	WWM.	Wide World Magazine, Lon- don.
Dub.	Dublin Review, Dublin.	Mus.	Music, Chicago.	WPM.	Wilson's Photographic Maga- zine, N. Y.
Edin.	Edinburgh Review, London.	NatGM.	National Geographic Maga- zine, Washington, D. C.	WW.	World's Work, N. Y.
Ed.	Education, Boston.	NatM.	National Magazine, Boston.	Yale.	Yale Review, New Haven.
		NatR.	National Review, London.	YM.	Young Man, London.
		NC.	New-Church Review, Boston.	YW.	Young Woman, London.